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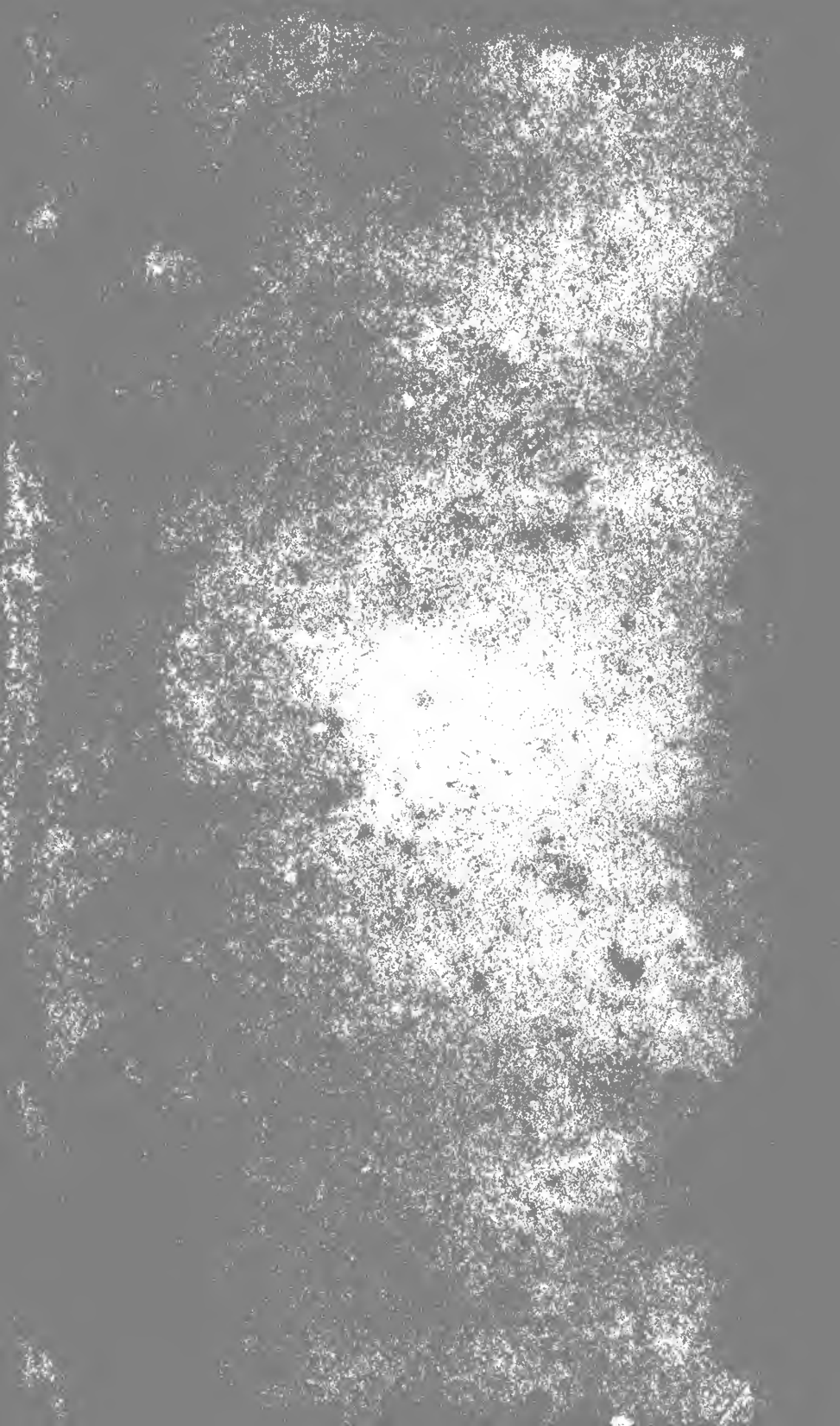
History of modern Europe,



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THE  
**HISTORY**  
OF  
**MODERN EUROPE,**  
FROM THE TREATY OF AMIENS  
IN 1802,  
TO  
'THE PACIFICATION OF PARIS,  
IN 1815.

*Charles Coote*

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS FROM A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON.  
BEING A CONTINUATION OF RUSSELL'S HISTORY.



KEENE, N. H.  
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN PRENTISS.  
1822.

# TO THE

THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA

OF

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

IN 1787

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

THE CONSTITUTION

THE CONSTITUTION

THE CONSTITUTION

THE CONSTITUTION

TO THE  
RIGHT HONORABLE  
**Thomas, Lord Erskine,**  
WHOSE ELOQUENCE AND TALENTS  
RAISED HIM TO THE PEERAGE ;  
WHOSE LEGAL AND HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE  
IS UNDISPUTED,  
AND  
WHOSE INDEPENDENT SPIRIT ADDS  
LUSTRE TO HIS CHARACTER,  
THIS SECOND CONTINUATION OF AN ESTEEMED  
**WORK,**  
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

**Charles Coote.**

DOCTORS' COMMONS, }  
AUGUST 25, 1817. }

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THE general inclination for the perusal of a connected and regular account of a recent period, has induced the author of the former continuation of Dr. Russell's work to bring it down to the memorable pacification of Paris. He is aware of the great difficulty of pleasing readers of dissonant and hostile parties; and he cannot avoid the obtrusive reflection, that the writer of contemporaneous history,

—— “Incedit per ignes  
Suppositos cineri dolose.”

yet he is again emboldened to tread the *arena* of politics, and to defy the censures of prejudice and malignity. He studiously aims at the strictness of truth: he has no sinister motives for reproach or animadversion; and, while he courts not the favor of the popular party, he is not deterred from delivering his sentiments, even by the alarming suspension of the great bulwark of constitutional liberty. Without freedom of speech, history would degenerate into a servile and fulsome panegyric of the ruling power: it would then cease to be instructive or interesting, because it would be known to be partial and insincere.

Doctors'-Commons, }  
September, 1817. }

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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
MODERN EUROPE.

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FROM THE TREATY OF AMIENS, IN 1802, TO THE PACIFICATION OF PARIS, IN 1815.

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LETTER I.

*A General Survey of the Politics of Europe, from the Peace of the Year 1802; to the Renewal of Hostilities between Great Britain and France.*

THE treaty of Amiens might have had a prosperous and permanent effect, if the ruler of the French nation, upon whose conduct the destiny of Europe seemed to depend, had possessed the common attributes of human nature. It might have been reasonably expected that an adventurer, whose original condition gave him no hopes of rising above the middle class of society, would have been content with that splendour of fortune to which his courage and talents had raised him, without aspiring to higher degrees of distinction and pre-eminence. It might have been concluded, that he would have studiously cultivated the arts of peace, and would have given a long repose to a people who had so severely suffered by revolutionary fury; and that, under his auspices, the labours of honest industry, the activity of commerce, the pursuits of literature and science, would have completely triumphed over the vulgar, degrading, and mischievous passion for military glory. But it soon appeared, as many had foreseen, that the Corsican upstart was as destitute of good sense, prudence, and judgment,

as he was estranged from the feelings of humanity and benevolence; that he had no wish to promote the true welfare and prosperity, either of the nation which he was permitted to govern, or of any other portion of the human species; and that his chief delight centred in the extension of his dominion, and the consequent propagation of all the miseries of the most humiliating servitude.

Affecting both a sense of religion and a regard for peace, the first consul connected the triumph of restored catholicism with the confirmation of the recent treaty. He had adjusted, in the summer of the preceding year, a *concordat* with the pope, subjecting public worship to the superintendence of ten prelates of the highest rank, and fifty bishops; and that convention, being submitted to the deliberation of the tribunate and the legislative body, was now sanctioned as a law, and honoured with accomplishment. On the festival of our Lord's resurrection, he ratified the peace in due form, and received, in the metropolitan church, the oaths of the new prelates, amidst the roar of artillery and the acclamations of the people. He thus (says a French journalist) gratified himself with the favorable opinion of a great part of the nation, and reconciled the new government with the ancient religion of the state.

In this season of good humour, he was also disposed to favor the emigrants with a relaxation of the rigour of former edicts. He therefore ordered, by an act of the senate, that all who had not yet arrived, should return to France before a certain day in the autumn of 1803; and that they should then take an oath of fidelity to the constitutional establishment, renounce all places, pensions, and titles, which they had procured from foreign powers, and quietly submit, for ten years, to the particular superintendence of the government, which might occasionally require their change of residence. He promised to restore, but not without considerable exceptions, such parts of their property as the nation still possessed. This amnesty, it must be added, did not extend to the whole body of emigrants; for those who had acted as officers in the army of an enemy; or had excited war, civil or foreign, against the republic,—all commanders either military or naval, and popular deputies, who had been guilty of treason,—and even the prelates who had not resigned their sees, with a view to the execution of the *concordat*,—were excluded from the benefit of the new ordinance.

Amidst these arrangements, he did not neglect the preser-

vation of his own power and authority. In treating with the pontiff, he reserved to himself the nomination of all the prelates, required a canonical institution as the necessary sequel of the appointment, and declared that no bull or brief should have any effect without his consent, and that no council or synod, unauthorised by the government, should deliberate or act; and, in his conduct toward the unfortunate royalists, he cautiously provided for their subjection to the eye of peculiar vigilance, until time and habit should reconcile them to the most patient acquiescence in the exclusion of the Bourbon family.

As ten years, the period assigned for the duration of the consular power, seemed too short a term for his prospective ambition, he resolved to extend it by anticipation. His wish being communicated to his friends, the conservative senate referred to a committee, the consideration of a proper mode of testifying national gratitude for his eminent services; and, when it was suggested that the former term should be doubled, the proposal was readily adopted, not only as a mark of high respect, but also with a view of imparting to the government that stability which would “multiply its resources, promote external confidence and internal credit, encourage the friends and confound the enemies of France, ensure a continuance of the blessings of peace, and extend the means and opportunities of providing for the welfare and prosperity of the nation.” For the confirmation of this important grant, the people were consulted; and so popular was Bonaparte, or so commanding was the influence of the army, that it was not deemed a sufficient testimony of gratitude to establish the limited decree of the senate. The citizens, meeting in the different *communes*, voted, almost universally, that he should be invested with the supreme consulate for life. This decision was readily sanctioned by the senate; and the fortunate object of general choice, in declaring his acceptance of the extraordinary honour, boasted that liberty, equality, and the prosperity of France, were fixed on the most permanent basis. None but his parasites could admit, that freedom prevailed under his auspices; and, although in some respects he attended to the interests of the people, he did not sincerely aim at the promotion of their real comfort and happiness.

For the pretended benefit of France, a new constitution was prepared, under the eye of the first consul, by three of his counsellors of state, by whom it was presented to the senate for

that exterior approbation and formal assent which the members did not presume to withhold. It was ordained by this instrument, that the second and third consuls should be nominated by the first, to whom the privilege of appointing a successor to himself was also conceded. He was invested with the power of making war, adjusting alliances, and concluding peace, in concert with the privy counsellors of his own choice; and he was to enjoy, with their concurrence, the prerogative of pardon. All the acts of the senate were to emanate from him in the first instance: the members of that body were to be selected by him, to the number of eighty, from a list presented by the electoral colleges of the departments; and he was allowed to add forty, (if he should be so inclined) by a choice wholly uninfluenced. The members of the legislative body were to be nominated by the senate, from lists arranged by the departmental colleges, containing the names of three candidates for every deputy to be chosen. For the tribunate, the colleges of the circuits were to name a certain number of citizens, that a selection might be made by the senate. Three hundred representatives were to compose the former assembly, a fifth part being renewable in every fifth year; and it was resolved that the latter should gradually be reduced to fifty, one half of which number should be succeeded by other members in the periodical course of three years. In the event of a dissolution by the senate, these partial regulations of renewal would necessarily give way to a complete re-election. The convocation, adjournment, and prorogation, of these two assemblies, were not left to that authority which might dissolve them, but to the government. With regard to the formation of the colleges, it was ordained, that those who were to name the candidates for the tribunate should have one member for every aggregate of 500 domiciliated inhabitants of the circuit, and that the members should be nominated by the central assembly of the cantons which composed the district; while the electoral colleges of the departments, appointed for life, were to have one member in the proportion of one thousand inhabitants. For the supreme administration of justice, a grand judge was to be named, who was also to be a senator and counsellor of state. He was to enjoy, over inferior tribunals, the right of inspection and control; and, if any judgment should appear to be politically improper, inexpedient, or hazardous, it might be annulled by the senate. Whatever aspect favourable to freedom this code might assume, the intention of granting that blessing to the nation was not seriously entertained by its art-



ful framer, whose arbitrary inclinations considered despotism as the necessary basis of government.

Such was the zeal of the first consul for an appearance of political reform, that he not only gave to France this phantom of liberty, but framed new constitutions for the Cis-Alpine and Ligurian Republics. Both these states were declared independent by the treaty of Luneville; and their discretionary right of adjusting a particular form of government was specifically acknowledged. As this natural and obvious right did not suit the arbitrary views of Bonaparte, he resolved to mould and regulate these nominal republics by his own will, so as to secure a commanding authority over them. Even after the preliminaries of peace had been signed, when a sense of honour might have been expected so far to influence him, as to prevent any irregular assumption of power, by which his relative situation might be improved during the negotiations for a definitive treaty, he had repaired to Lyons for the sole purpose of ambitious aggrandizement. The most distinguished citizens of the Cis-Alpine state, being invited to meet him in that city, had many private conferences with him and Talleyrand on the subject of their political organization: and the result was a report of the existing circumstances of the aggregate nation, calculated to prove that it required the superintending care of some great personage, who, by the influence of his name and power, might protect and secure it, and throw over it's infancy a splendor which might accelerate it's manhood. As no such person could be found among the citizens, he was entreated to undertake the task of conducting the machine of government. He did not refuse the honor; and, under his auspices, a constitutional code was quickly prepared, and presented to the deputies, by whom it was readily adopted. The state was thenceforward to be called the Italian republic. Bonaparte was declared president for ten years, with a chance of re-election. Not only was he permitted to exercise the usual branches of executive power, but no laws were to be adopted, unless they should be proposed by him. Under him or his representative, the government was confided to a council of state, to ordinary ministers, and to a legislative committee. The national sovereignty, which was acknowledged to belong to the whole body of citizens, resided by delegation in three electoral colleges, namely, three hundred *possidenti* or proprietors of land, three hundred *dotti*, or men of learning and science, and the same number of *commercanti*, or traders and manufacturers. These associations, chosen by the citizens, were to nominate the mem-

bers of the council of state, and to elect a legislative body, consisting of seventy-five persons, who were to meet at least for two months in every year, and whose number was to be partially renewed by the choice of twenty-five deputies once in two years, in lieu of a retiring third. The ministers were responsible for their acts and for neglect of duty, but not the members of the different public bodies. The judges were allowed to retain their situations for life, unless they should disgrace themselves by guilt or delinquency. Although the new state consisted of six nations, the laws both civil and criminal, and the system of education, were to be uniform.

The Ligurian republic received with equal submission the dictates of the domineering consul; and the constitution which it received from his creative genius, was applauded by the servile citizens as the work of an enlightened mind and a beneficent disposition. The three grand bases of this code were unobjectionable,—liberty, equality in point of civil rights, and national representation: but the pretended grants were not secured to the people. The legislative body was to consist only of thirty members, who were to make choice of a doge, or president of the supreme magistracy, out of three candidates named by the electoral colleges, which, in their organization, resembled those of the Italian republic. The doge was to remain in office for six years. His chief assistants were the presidents of the four inferior magistracies, and four other ministers. The renewal of the senate was on the same plan with that of the legislature in the neighbouring republic. Of the three colleges, the members were to be chosen for life. The property of the church was declared to be inalienable. For the promotion of the arts and sciences, a national institute was to be established at Genoa, as well as at Milan; for the consul, amidst the cares of state and the regulations of policy, did not neglect the patronage of science or the interests of learning, while the adepts and professors abstained from the propagation of the principles of freedom.

That constitution which had been framed for Switzerland under the auspices of the French directory, was particularly repugnant to the feelings of the democratic cantons; and, in consequence of their application for political redress, the general diet at Berne transferred the administration to a new executive council, at the head of which was Aloys Reding, the distinguished patriot. A more judicious code than that which the French had imposed upon the nation, was voted by the senate; but those members of the council who had been introduced by



the influence of Bonaparte, as a counterpoise to the advocates of the old *regime*, displaced Reding and his friends, and prepared a constitution upon French principles, to which they procured the assent of the aristocratic cantons. Pleased at the adoption of this code, the consul recalled the troops whose continuance in Switzerland had given offence; and the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwalden, took this opportunity of separating from the Helvetic body, and of forming a government more correspondent with their habits and circumstances. They were quickly joined by the people of Appenzel, Glarus, and Zug; and the confederacy assumed that boldness of attitude and demeanor, which alarmed the national council. Troops were detached against the allies; who, being prepared to meet the storm of hostility, gained the advantage in two conflicts. As the citizens of Zurich seemed to favor the views of the patriots, general Andermatt insulted them by a bombardment; but he was obliged to relinquish the intention of garrisoning that town. Berne was attacked by the confederates, and taken with little difficulty; and the consequences of this success was the reinstatement of the former magistracy. Irritated at these proceedings, Bonaparte addressed the cantons in an imperious tone, and insisted upon the annulment of the late changes and regulations at Berne, and the dispersion of all armed assemblages. This proclamation produced a remonstrance from the British court against the unwarrantable interference of the French in the internal government of an independent state; and Mr. Moore was sent into Switzerland, to encourage the patriots by a promise of pecuniary aid. In the prosecution of their success, the allies attacked at Fribourg the partisans of the French system, and reduced that city: they then rushed into the Pays de Vaud, and routed the enemy near Moudon. In the mean time, the associated cantons held a diet at Schwitz, and completed their constitutional code: but they were not suffered to give it that establishment which it deserved: for a French army, commanded by Ney, received orders for the enforcement of full submission to that government which was recommended by the first consul. When intelligence of the occupation of Basle and Berne by these formidable intruders reached the diet, no thoughts of resistance were entertained: the assembly dissolved itself; and, while the arrogance and injustice of Bonaparte excited general indignation, the people quietly submitted to their fate.

Sept. 18.

Oct. 28.

In his conduct toward the cantons, he still pretended only to act as a mediator. He requested the attendance of a body

of Swiss deputies at Paris, and authorised four of his senators to adjust with them a federal government, and, at the same time, to make constitutional regulations for each canton. These discussions terminated in the formation of nineteen particular codes, and a series of ordinances for the united republic. In the specific constitutions, a greater regard was paid to the habits and wishes of the people than could have been expected from the domineering arrogance of the first consul; but he studiously provided for the general exercise of his authority over the confederacy. He prohibited alliance between one canton and another, and all partial confederacies with any foreign state; he restricted the embodied militia to 500, unless the federal president should agree to an occasional augmentation: he ordained that every violation of a decree of the diet, by an inferior government or legislature, should be subjected, as an act of rebellion, to the cognizance of the general tribunal; and he superseded the ancient commercial laws and exclusive privileges of every kind by uniform regulations. He allowed an annual rotation of directorial authority to Fribourg, Berne, Soleure, Basle, Zurich, and Lucerne, because at these towns the diet would be alternately convoked. It was ordained that only one citizen should be deputed to this assembly from each canton; but the members, belonging to the six most populous divisions, would respectively have two votes. The chief magistrate of the directorial canton was to be styled the landamman of Switzerland, or president of the republic. He was considered as the representative of the nation in all intercourse with foreign powers; was authorised to call an extraordinary meeting of the diet, which otherwise would not extend its session beyond one month; was bound to provide for the maintenance of public tranquility, and to interfere in every instance of a deviation either from the federal act or from any particular code: but he was not permitted to declare war, or to conclude treaties of peace or of alliance, without the previous sanction of the diet, manifested by a concurrence of three-fourths of the cantons. The Helvetic state, constituted conformably to this act, was declared, in the insulting language of the dictator, an *independent* power.

When the contest with Switzerland was approaching to its termination, the first consul derived, from the death of the duke of Parma, the means of extending his power in the north of Italy. Referring to a convention which he had concluded with the court of Madrid, he promulgated a decree, declaring that the sovereignty of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, belonged to

the French republic; and he immediately took measures for securing the acquisition. He congratulated his new subjects on the happiness which they would derive from their connexion with France, and their consequent prospect of being governed with justice and equity.

In the pacification between France and Austria, it had been stipulated, that they should concert with the Germanic body a plan of indemnification for those princes who had suffered by the war. Bonaparte at first pretended, that he had no wish to interfere in this adjustment; but, as a great difference of opinion agitated the princes and states of the empire on this subject, he was prompted, he said, to accelerate the important settlement by the desire of restoring complete tranquility to that country, and of fixing the peace of Europe upon a solid basis. He persuaded the Russian emperor to co-operate with him; and, as his mediation was thus powerfully supported, he disregarded the remonstrances of the court of Vienna, and arbitrarily arranged the territorial transfers. He affected impartiality; but he chiefly favored those princes from whom he expected the most implicit subserviency. In the *projet* which he prepared, he assigned to the Prussian monarch, (in exchange for the duchy of Cleves and other ceded territories,) the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn, the greater part of the episcopate of Munster, some imperial cities in Saxony, and many other valuable possessions; to the elector of Bavaria, some parts of the bishoprics of Passau and Wurtzburg, the whole of Bamberg and Augsburg, and a long list of abbeys and imperial towns; and, to the margrave of Baden, Constance and other towns and districts bordering upon Switzerland, and large portions of the Palatinate. The duke of Wirtemberg, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, were also gratified with important cessions, and honoured, as well as the margrave, with the electoral dignity, which was at the same time revived in favor of the high chancellor of the empire, under the title of Aschaffenburg. The archbishopric of Saltzburg, the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen, and other territories, were awarded to the prince whom the war had deprived of Tuscany; and his imperial brother, by remonstrating against the inadequacy of these assignments, and demanding that full indemnification which was stipulated by the treaty of Luneville, obtained some additional allowances for the archduke: but he objected also to the altered scheme. The elector of Hanover, by relinquishing his claim to Hildesheim, and waving other pretensions, procured a grant of Osnabrug in perpetuity; and, to the prince

of Orange, the bishoprics of Fulda and Corvey, the city of Dortmund, and several abbeys, were assigned; a very imperfect compensation, with which he was obliged to be content.

The acquisition of a paramount influence in Germany and in other parts of Europe, did not content the aspiring mind of the first consul. His comprehensive eye and grasping policy were also directed to the western hemisphere. While the treaty was in progress between France and Great-Britain, the state of St. Domingo had arrested his attention. The creation of an independent power in that island, by a negro adventurer, alarmed the rulers of the other insular colonies, in which the blacks far out-numbered the white population. It was apprehended, that the contagion of emancipation might be widely propagated, and the colonial governments be shaken to their foundations. Toussaint L'Ouverture was the founder of the new republic. He was born in slavery near Cape François; but as he exhibited early indications of a comprehensive mind, and conducted himself with general propriety, he was not treated with the rigor to which slaves are usually subjected, and was even highly favored by his master; yet, in the insurrection of the year 1791, he was induced to bear a part, and to accept a command; and it was then that the cruelties which have been imputed to him were perpetrated. As he found, in his courage, talents, and popularity, the means of retaining and extending his authority, he was at length promoted by the French to the command of their whole force in the island; and, as their power declined, he obtained the chief sway, both military and political, although he only enjoyed the title of general.

This extraordinary elevation did not inspire the chieftain with arrogance, or prompt him to act the part of an inhuman tyrant. His government, not without occasional exceptions, displayed the features of moderation and justice; and he gratified the people, in a great measure, with the advantages of a free constitution. This state of tranquility, however, was disturbed by the policy of Bonaparte, who, being requested by many exiled claimants of plantations, and by the principal merchants in France, to send an armament for the recovery of a valuable island, and wishing to free himself from that part of the army which dared to disapprove his usurpation, made great preparations for the enterprise. His brother-in-law, Le Clerc, was invested with the chief command; and the fleet, in the winter, safely reached the bay of Samana. While general Kerversan proceeded with one division of the troops to the city of St.

Domingo, Boudet sailed with another *corps* to Port-au-Prince, and Rochambeau to the bay of Mancenille. The attack of the town of Cape François, which was the seat of government, was reserved by Le-Clerc for himself and the main body. In the absence of Toussaint from the capital, Christophe, his relative and friend, desired the French commander to postpone his disembarkation, declaring that the white inhabitants should be considered as hostages for the forbearance of the strangers, and that an assault upon any town would operate as the signal for its conflagration. Le-Clerc, in answer, stated the claim of the French to the possession of the island, and invited Christophe, with plausible promises, to that submission which duty required; and he supported the application by producing a letter from the first consul to Toussaint, acknowledging his signal services, and offering, not merely indemnity, but favour and recompense. These overtures being disregarded, the general made dispositions for a descent, ordering admiral Villaret to attack the town from the sea. Having effected a landing at some distance, the troops marched toward the town, and witnessed the execution of the menace. Their exertions to stop the progress of the flames were in some degree effectual; and, in an excursion to Port-Paix and the Mole, they persuaded many of the negroes to join them, by a proclamation which held out the prospect of continued freedom.<sup>1</sup>

An artful attempt to procure the surrender of Toussaint was evaded by that firmness of character which the chieftain united with the tender feelings of a parent. Two of his sons had been sent to France for education; and their tutor Coisson, who accompanied them on their return to the West-Indies, hoped by their means to seduce the chieftain into a submission to the will of their friend and protector, the first consul. He repaired to a plantation which Toussaint possessed, and interested the mother of his pupils in the cause of France; but, when the father returned, he was neither moved by the persuasions of the emmissary, nor influenced by a threat of debarring the young men from the gratifications of a residence with their parents, to resign the power to which he thought himself entitled; or betray the interests of his brethren. Exasperated at the inflexibility of Toussaint, Le-Clerc denounced vengeance against him and Christophe, and, excluding them from the protection of the law, ordered all citizens to pursue them, as enemies of the French republic.

Expecting a vigorous prosecution of the war, the chieftain

<sup>1</sup> Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti, by Marcus Rainsford.



roused all the energy of his adherents, and disposed them in various encampments. He planted artillery of the best fabric on the heights near every camp, and formed ambuscades, in which small arms only were used. His perfect acquaintance with the country was particularly advantageous to his operations, which were also directed with the skill of a general : and he was, for some time, ably seconded by Maurepas, who routed one of the French divisions ; but the despair of success, and the promise of a continuance of military rank, induced that officer, and two other generals, to submit to the enemy, with many of their fickle warriors.

In a well contested conflict between Rochambeau and the chief defender of the island, success was equally balanced. One called into exercise the superiority of French tactics : the other made the best use of the advantages of a strong position. Le-Clerc, having removed his head-quarters to Port-au-Prince, formed the siege of La-Crete, chiefly in the hope of spoil, as it was a considerable *depot*. It was defended by Dessalines, who could not, however, maintain it against the great force employed for its reduction. During the siege, the French committed such cruelties as could only have been expected from the most brutal barbarians. An officer overpowered 600 negroes, and put them to the sword ; another encompassed a small camp, and murdered all its occupants. When Dessalines found the post no longer tenable, he retreated in the night with a part of his force, and escaped with a small loss ; but those who remained after a final sally, were sacrificed to the fury of the besiegers, many of whom had fallen by the well directed fire of the fortress.

While the French were exulting in this success, their vigilant adversary, being joined by Christophe, rushed from the mountains, defeated an opposing division near Plaisance, and alarmed the garrison at Cape-François. He repelled Boyer, who had marched from the town to attack him ; and ravaged the extensive plain, in defiance of Le-Clerc himself, who had hastily returned by sea to the endangered station. But, when the French commander had been reinforced from the mother-country, and, by a renewal of his specious promises, had increased the defection from the banners of the native general, even drawing Christophe into a pacific negociation, an exterior amity May 8. was substituted for the rancour of hostility, and the armed followers of the chieftain were admitted with him to a participation of the honours and advantages of the French service.

An act of base treachery soon followed this ostensible reconciliation. While Toussaint, after the fatigues of war, reposed in the bosom of his family, two ships approached the western coast; and a party of soldiers, hastening to his plantation, seized him, his wife, and offspring, and conveyed them on board of a vessel, in which they were transported to France. Le-Clerc affirmed, that the rebellious general, immediately after he had been pardoned, instigated the labouring negroes to a new insurrection: but he had only complained of their being compelled to work for their ancient masters, as a violation of the recent promises and engagements. On his arrival in France, he was thrown into prison, from which he never emerged. Above one hundred of his friends in the island were hunted out by Rochambeau, forced into some vessels in the harbour of St. Marc, and (as is generally supposed) privately put to death.<sup>2</sup>

The arbitrary and tyrannical government of Le-Clerc excited general disgust and indignation. Christophe and Dessalines partook of the rising emotions, and resolved to aim at the recovery of expiring freedom; and other leaders of negro and mulatto associations arose in different parts. Dreading the revolt of all the blacks who had been incorporated with the French army, the commander in chief ordered them to be disarmed; and, when they resisted his will, he subjected a great number to various modes of death. Hundreds were suffocated in the holds of ships; many were shot; and others were destroyed by blood-hounds. Before the late pacification, disease had concurred with the war to thin the French army; and the number of bodies thrown by the returning tide upon the shore, diffused a contagion through the nearest towns, in which the soldiers, driven from the field by the increasing force of the insurgents, were confined within a narrow space. The consequent mortality was great; and the mal-contents so far took advantage of it, as to recover, in many parts of the island, the influence and authority which they had lost by the peace. Le-Clerc, whose health had been long declining, died at this crisis. The colonial præfect, in announcing his death, called him a hero and a sage: but his pretensions to those honourable characters may justly be denied. He was succeeded in the command by Rochambeau, whose talents or efforts did not promise success to the colonial interest of France.

The king of Great Britain and his ministers did not altogether disapprove the attempts of the French for the recovery

<sup>2</sup> Rainsford's Account of the Black Empire of Hayti.

of an island, of which they had not only possessed a very considerable part, but had procured from Spain a cession of the rest. It was in their opinion more desirable, that the French should resume their sway in Hispaniola, than that slaves, who had obtained freedom by the sword, should be enabled, by the acquisition of independent power, to recommend and enforce the dangerous example. No remonstrance, therefore, had been offered against the preparations in the first instance; nor, after the conclusion of the definitive treaty, was this enterprise included among the grounds of dispute and animosity which arose between the rival governments.)

The conduct and proceedings of that parliament which commenced its deliberations after the return of peace, necessarily excited the anxious attention of the political world. In addressing the two houses, the king boasted of the internal prosperity of the country, and applauded the loyalty of the people.<sup>3</sup> He expressed a strong wish for the continuance of peace;<sup>4</sup> but he did not think himself justified in attending so scrupulously to this object, as to "lose sight of that established and wise system of policy, by which the interests of other states are connected with our own," or to "be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength." This allusion to the critical state of the continent seemed to argue a doubt of the permanence of that tranquility which had been ostensibly restored to Europe. Mr. Windham, lord Grenville and his brother, and some other senators, were so apprehensive

3 An exception from the panegyric included in this general remark, occurred in the earlier part of the session: Despard, a discontented military officer, was convicted of having conspired with many other factious men, to subvert the existing government. He, and six of his accomplices, who belonged to the lower class of society, suffered death for their treasonable guilt; which, though it did not break cut into action, indisputably deserved punishment.

4 Bonaparte, with less sincerity, was equally positive in stating his pacific inclinations. When the name of Mr. Fox was announced at a levee, the first consul said to him, with an appearance of emotion, "I heard of your arrival with pleasure, as I have earnestly wished to see you: I have long admired, in you, the orator and friend of his country, who, in constantly raising his voice for peace, not only consulted the true interests of that country, but also those of Europe and of the whole human race. The two great nations of Europe require peace: they have nothing to fear: they ought to cultivate mutual esteem and friendship." To this address the English statesman scarcely replied; and some unimportant questions and answers terminated the public interview of these extraordinary men. Mr. Fox exposed himself to acrimonious animadversions for having condescended to pay homage, by a spontaneous visit, to an enemy of that freedom which he had so eloquently and systematically supported. Sir Francis Burdett was more conscientious; he declined the honour of being introduced to the despotic ruler of France. Yet there was no great impropriety in a formal interview with a personage who had acquired high celebrity; and who directed the energies of a powerful nation.



of danger from the ambitious encroachments of France, that they recommended either an immediate renewal of the war, or the retention of so large an establishment, as, if it would not overawe that turbulent nation, might enable this country to be prepared for the most perilous contingency. This alarm was increased by a royal message, which stated the certainty of very considerable military preparations in the ports of France and Holland. His majesty admitted, that March 8, 1803. these means of hostility were avowedly intended for colonial purposes:<sup>5</sup> but, when it was considered that important discussions were depending between the governments, it was expedient, he thought, that more effectual provision should be made for the security of Great Britain.

With regard to the subjects of discussion, it may be observed, that the French testified no inclination to give that satisfaction which a friendly power, or an honourable government, would have readily granted. They were accused by our ministers of having offered violence to British vessels and property, and of employing agents in our ports, who acted as spies rather than as superintendents of commercial intercourse. They still pursued, it was said, an iniquitous system of aggression and aggrandizement; keeping an army in Holland against the will of the government, invading the territory and the rights of the Swiss, and withholding from the king of Sardinia the most valuable portions of his dominions, although they had solemnly promised to attend to his interests. Their allegation, that they were not bound to forbearance in any point which did not form an express part of the stipulations at Amiens, was, in the opinion of our cabinet, a pretence which the law of nations did not justify; for, as that treaty was founded, like other public conventions, on the state of possession and of subsisting engagements, the dictates of arbitrary will and caprice could not authorise one party to make any considerable difference in the relative situation of either power. Their demand of the evacuation of Malta was also declared to be unreasonable, since they had concurred with the Spanish government in impairing the constitution and weakening the independence of the order of knights, to whom, under such circumstances, the island could not in the spirit of the treaty be restored.<sup>6</sup> Me-

<sup>5</sup> It has been confidently affirmed, and is indeed undoubted, that these preparations were imaginary, rather than real.

<sup>6</sup> His majesty, or his ministers, seemed to be aware of the insufficiency of this argument to justify the retention of Malta; for it was added, that the article in question ought not to be considered alone, but with reference to other parts of the

naces of violence, and indignities offered to the British ambassador to the nation, which, the first consul arrogantly and falsely stated,<sup>7</sup> could not singly cope with the French, were also noticed with displeasure. Inflamed by the progress of these disputes, the king peremptorily desired, that the French government would afford substantial security against farther encroachments, and give satisfaction for illiberal insults.

In an early stage of this diplomatic contest, Talleyrand had complained; in the name of his haughty and irritable master, of the libellous spirit of the British press, and of the encouragement given in this country to the fugitive friends of the house of Bourbon. Lord Hawkesbury replied, that it would be improper for the executive government to restrain the constitutional liberty of the press; but he admitted, that a foreign power might legally apply to the courts of judicature, and might obtain redress for defamation or calumny;<sup>8</sup> and, with regard to the second point, he declared, that, if any of the emigrants should endeavor, by artful intrigues, or by the transmission of inflammatory writings to France, to excite sedition among the people, they should be ordered to retire from the British dominions. These answers did not satisfy Bonaparte: he still complained of the unchecked effusions of political animosity.

The irregular agency of Colonel Sebastiani was also productive of altercation. Talleyrand did not scruple to affirm, that the mission of this officer was purely commercial; but it was, in reality, an artful scheme of vigilant ambition and interested policy. After a voyage to Tripoli, where this active emissary mediated a peace between the bey and the king of Sweden, and procured an acknowledgment of the Italian republic, he proceeded to Alexandria, which the British troops had not then evacuated. He insisted upon the immediate surrender of that city to the Porte; but general Stuart replied, that no orders to that effect had arrived from his court. He informed the pasha, that agents from France would soon make treaty, more particularly to the stipulation respecting the Turkish empire and the Ionian islands; and that the French had manifested an intention of violating both these articles.

7 In an exposition or display of the state and connexions of France, dated February 21. Our court would have better consulted its dignity, by avoiding all reference to this *tirade*, which was merely an idle boast arising from an overweening opinion of French power and resources. In such effusions of vanity, all nations are too ready to indulge.

8 A French journalist in England, named Peltier, was subsequently tried in the court of King's Bench, at the request of M. Otto, for a libel which tended to encourage murderous attempts against the first consul. He was found guilty; but judgment was not demanded against him.

their appearance in Egypt, and re-establish commercial intercourse. In all the towns which he visited, he spoke of the first consul's regard for the people, and the interest which he took in their welfare. At Cairo, he offered his mediation between the Turkish government and the beys; but the pasha assured him, that he had received peremptory orders from Constantinople for the extermination of those rebels. After examining the fortifications of the Egyptian towns, the intriguing agent directed his course to Acre, where he courted the friendship of Gezzar, the inhuman tyrant of Syria. In his homeward voyage, he stopped at Zante, where he encouraged the inhabitants to look only to France for protection. In his report to the first consul, he declared it to be his decided opinion, that all the Ionian islands would embrace the first opportunity of submitting to France; and when he had given an exposition of the state of the British, Turkish, and Mamelouk armies in Egypt, he said, that 6000 French soldiers would compose a sufficient force for the conquest of that country. He spoke of general Stuart as a man whose talents did not rise above mediocrity, who was subservient to the counsels of a French emigrant, and was on very ill terms with the pasha of Alexandria. He accused the English of having driven the Turks from several forts, of taking provisions from the governor without payment, and of consuming three times as much as would suffice for their wants. These illiberal insinuations and unwarrantable charges concurred with the general spirit of the report to excite strong indignation among people of all ranks in Great-Britain, and to rouse the angry feelings of the ministers more decidedly than even the palpable infractions of treaty in Switzerland and in Italy.

The petulance and asperity of the first consul particularly appeared in some of the conversations which attended the progressive discussion. "Every wind that blows from England (said he to lord Whitworth in an angry tone,) brings nothing to me but marks of ill-will and of enmity."—He ridiculed the alarm which had been excited by his incorporation of Piedmont with France, and his arrangements in Switzerland. "Those are mere trifles," he added;—"you must have foreseen them while the treaty was in agitation; and you have therefore no right to introduce such irrelevant topics."—When our armaments were in progress, he exclaimed, "So you are determined to recommence hostilities!—a fifteen years' war<sup>9</sup> might seem to be sufficient; but, if you will force me into war for

<sup>9</sup> The war was much too long; but it did not extend beyond nine years.

fifteen years more, you shall have your wish.”—Addressing the Russian and Spanish ambassadors, he said, “The English are bent upon war; but, if they should be first to draw the sword, I will be the last to sheathe it. They pay no regard to treaties, which must in future be covered with black crape.”—Resuming the conversation with his majesty’s representative, he asked, in apparent agitation, “For what purpose are you arming? Against whom are you taking these precautions? I have not a single ship of the line in my ports. But, if you are determined to fight, I will fight also.” When his lordship declared that it was the wish of our court and nation to be upon amicable terms with France, the irritated consul said, “You must then be faithful to your treaties. Wo be to those who violate their engagements!”

After the offer of various schemes of compromise and accommodation, lord Whitworth was authorised to propose, that Malta should be retained for ten years, and then be resigned to the inhabitants, as an independent island; and that Lampedosa should be given to the king as a substitute for it. He also required, that the French army should quit the territories of the Batavian republic. Talleyrand replied, that his master would immediately acquiesce in the transfer of Malta to Austria, Russia, or Prussia, and would open a negotiation for the adjustment of every disputed point which was unconnected with the late treaty. This answer was deemed so unsatisfactory, that the ambassador demanded a passport, and returned to England.

When the king had intimated to the two houses the termination of the discussions, each assembly voted an address, breathing defiance and war; but, before he received this promise of support, he issued letters of marque and reprisal against May 16. the French. The first consul readily accepted the challenge; and preparations for war were prosecuted with mutual zeal.

## LETTER II.

*History of Europe, continued to the Erection of an Imperial Dynasty in France.*

NOTHING but national animosity, or the dread of imaginary danger, could have induced the majority of the parliament to vote so readily for war. The alleged encroachments and insults were not real justifications of hostility. The arbitrary conduct of the aspiring ruler of France indisputably suggested the expediency of precaution; but it was not so open and decisive, as to provoke or authorise sanguinary extremities. No aggression or outrage, so undisguised or so atrocious as to call for the armed interference of Great Britain, had yet been committed. The loud clamours, however, of the zealots of war prevailed, drowning the voice of reason and the whispers of humanity.

The resentment of the first consul, when he was menaced with war, vented itself upon those subjects of Great Britain, who, having visited France from motives of curiosity and amusement, did not expedite their departure, and who were therefore detained in exile for the alleged injustice of their government. The desire of vengeance also suggested to him the idea of an invasion; but, fortunately for this country, he had not the means of making a powerful impression upon a well-defended island. He provided a numerous flotilla, and exercised the crew in a variety of evolutions; and when all the changes of manœuvre were exhausted, an endless repetition ensued.<sup>1</sup> To obviate the alarm arising from this source, a strong additional force was deemed necessary; and it was proposed that a body of reserve should be levied, partaking of a middle nature between the regular troops and the militia. The new defenders of the state were to be raised by ballot, to the amount of 40,000 for Great Britain, and 10,000 for Ireland; and that they might be the more effectually prepared for service, they were to be commanded and disciplined by officers of the established army. It was contended, on the part of the ministry, that this scheme, by providing sufficiently for the

<sup>1</sup> Roman warriors, alluding to this useless employment, which was not more effective than absolute idleness, might have said, with Horace, *Strenua nos exercet inertia*.



country, would allow the employment of the greater part of the regular force in offensive operations ; that many of the new battalions might, on particular occasions, be sent to act out of the kingdom, as there would still be a large body of militia for the purpose of defence ; and that a kind of preparatory school would thus be formed for the regiments of the line. On the other hand, the measure was condemned by Mr. Windham, as injurious to the military establishment, because it would preclude the due supply of that force upon which the only effectual defence of the nation could rest. When the bill for this object had become an operative law, it was deemed insufficient to repel the danger which had given rise to the scheme ; and a new bill was brought forward, ordaining a levy *en masse*. All men, between the ages of seventeen and fifty-five, were to be enrolled, trained, and disciplined ; liable to be called into the field, if an invasion should be effected or attempted ; and bound to serve until the enemy should be crushed, or driven from the shores of our island. The King's prerogative in this respect, said the secretary at war, was indisputable : he might lawfully require the service of all his subjects, capable of bearing arms, in case of an invasion ; but it was expedient that the parliament should regulate the manner in which that branch of authority should be exercised. Such a bill as the court desired was quickly enacted ; but, as compulsion was disapproved by many, the rigour of the act was qualified by a proposal of accepting the offers of a certain number of men who might be disposed to serve, and of suspending in that case, the general operation of the statute. Of the four classes into which the adult and vigorous population had been divided, it was expected that the first, consisting of unmarried men from seventeen to thirty years of age, would furnish 400,000 ; and three-fourths of this amount were considered as sufficient even for the extraordinary exigencies of the endangered country.

While these arrangements tended to secure the united kingdom against foreign hostility, the alarm of internal commotion arose. Notwithstanding the well-meant endeavours of the advocates and promoters of the union, Ireland was still in a state of perturbation : distress, and consequent discontent, pervaded the body of the people ; and the abettors of democracy took advantage of that feverish irritability which was occasionally manifested, for the propagation of disloyalty and sedition. These leaders were not men of rank or distinction : but they had talents which enabled them to obtain a great influence over the populace ; and their courage removed all fear of the per-



sonal consequences of their traitorous intrigues. Emmet and Russell were the chief instigators of the rash malcontents, who, having procured pikes and other weapons, assembled at Dublin in the evening, after the distribution of inflammatory addresses, by which the people were exhort- July 23. ed to take arms for their rescue from an insupportable yoke. When the mischief exploded, it was rather an outrageous tumult than an organized rebellion. The chief-justice Kilwarden and his nephew were stopped, as they were passing in a carriage, and murdered by a party of the ruffians. But the career of sedition was soon arrested. A body of soldiers and yeomanry attacked the insurgents, of whom many fell. The loyal combatants prevailed in the conflict; but some of them lost their lives. In the flight and dispersion which ensued, a great number of the malcontents were apprehended; and tranquility was restored to the capitol. If their early efforts had not been thus promptly opposed, the insurrection would, in all probability, have been widely propagated; but the intelligence which was received from Dublin by the provincial conspirators repressed the general ebullition of treason. When some of the inferior agents in this insurrection had been convicted and capitally punished, Emmet, whose place of concealment had been discovered by the vigilance of Major Sirr, was brought to trial. It appeared from the evidence adduced against him, that he had prepared a scheme of provisional government, which he hoped to enforce or recommend to the people; that he had superintended the measures which were taken for arming the enemies of the establishment, having particularly directed the fabrication of pikes; that, on the night of the insurrection, he had assumed the character and exterior of a general, and had led his pike-men to action; and that, after the defeat of his party, he still meditated revolutionary schemes, and threatened to retaliate upon the armed adherents of the court, the violence which had been exercised, under the forms of law, against the true friends of Ireland. The jury, without hesitation, declared him guilty; and he suffered death with coolness and courage. He avowed his hostility to the existing government; but denied that he had solicited aid from the French, whose interposition he strongly deprecated, because, in every country which they had entered as friends, they had acted as the most determined enemies. Russell did not openly engage in the insurrection; but it was proved, that he was well acquainted with the whole scheme, and had encouraged the disaffected to take an active part in treasonable machinations.

He was as ready as his bold associate to acknowledge his invincible repugnance to the prevailing political system ; and he encountered his fate with equal fortitude. He had served in the army during the American war : his abilities had been improved by education ; and his manners and address were untinged with the vulgar coarseness of democracy.

At the close of the session, an attempt was made by Mr. Hutchinson, not from factious views but from patriotic motives, to procure a temperate parliamentary investigation of the affairs of Ireland, that proper remedies might be applied to the disorders of the country : but the ministry, satisfied with the suspension of the privilege of *habeas-corpus*, and with the exercise of martial law, reprobated all enquiry as inexpedient and useless ; and the king, referring to the late commotions, trusted that the vigorous measures, authorised by the two houses, would “ prevent any farther interruption of the tranquillity ” of that part of his dominions, and convince his loyal subjects of his wish to protect them against seditious violence.

The meditated invasion was an object of permanent attention, as it was a task which required a length of time for its progress and accomplishment : but an enterprize for the reduction of Hanover was quickly carried into effect. This act of hostility had no relation to the war between France and Great Britain ; for the king had declared, that he would observe a strict neutrality in his electoral character : but such an attack, being calculated to wound the feelings of his majesty, readily suggested itself to the resentful spirit of Bonaparte. He sent an army under the command of Mortier to enter the electoral territories, and, although it was pretended that a sufficient force would be ready to act with vigour against the invaders, it was deemed prudent to yield to the storm, when the enemy had gained some advantages in the field. A convention was signed at Suhligen, not very honourable to the Hanoverians, but June 3. preferable, in their opinion, to a state of war. It was stipulated, that the French army should occupy the country and its fortresses, and be maintained by the people ; that the native troops should retire beyond the Elbe, and might retain their arms, but should be considered as prisoners of war ; and that the French general might ordain, even in the civil administration, such changes as he might deem expedient. His majesty refused to ratify this convention ; and, as the enemy had taken positions on various parts near the river, with a view of obstructing the freedom of navigation, he stationed some ships at its entrance for the purpose of a strict blockade.

In consequence of the rejection of the agreement, Mortier insisted upon the adjustment of new terms; and, by menacing the Hanoverians with all the rigours of war, he prevailed upon their commander, count Walmoden, to sign a capitulation, by which the troops were required to surrender their arms to the French, and to retire to their respective habitations, under a prohibition of serving against the enemy without a previous exchange; the French at the same time agreeing to the sole occupation of the duchy of Lauenburg.

As the subserviency of the ostensible rulers of Holland to arbitrary dictation obstructed the display of those friendly inclinations which would have ensured the forbearance of the British court toward its ancient allies, an extension of the war was reluctantly adopted; and letters of marque were issued against the Batavian republic, after the peremptory rejection of a proposal of sincere and perfect neutrality, which his majesty had readily offered to that government. The trade of the Dutch soon suffered severely by the activity of the British cruisers; and it was no consolation to imagine (as their tyrant taught them to expect) that they might indemnify themselves, and avenge their insulted honor, by concurring in the invasion of Britain.

No brilliant enterprises or splendid achievements distinguished the first year of renewed hostilities: but some useful accessions of colonial territory gratified the advocates and promoters of the war. Lieutenant-general Grinfield and commodore Hood, as soon as they had received instructions for offensive warfare, collected a sufficient force for the conquest of St. Lucia and Tobago, and sailed from Barbadoes without the least apprehension of disappointment. The troops having made a descent on the former island, the French out-posts were quickly forced, and the town of Castries was taken. At the Morne Fortune, the garrison hoped to withstand the assailants until the rainy season should commence; but this consideration served only to render the British commanders more intent upon June 22. an immediate reduction of the fortress. It was stormed with small loss; and the whole island was subjected to the sway of Great-Britain. The annunciation of this success to the governor of Tobago induced him to relinquish all thoughts of resistance; and it was agreed, that he and the civil and military officers, and the garrison of each post, should be conveyed to France in British vessels. The joy with which the colony submitted to this change, clearly indicated a preference of the British to the French government. Demerara and Essequibo were added to these conquests by that show of hos

tility which intimidated the Dutch, whose settlement of Berbice was taken with equal facility.

As the French and their allies were unable to defend their settlements with effect, the former also failed in their grand attempt for the recovery of Hispaniola. They did not, however, resign their hopes, after the death of Le-Clerc, without a renewal of effort; and, as Rochambeau had a greater knowledge of the island, and of the character of its inhabitants, than the defunct general, high expectations were formed of the result of his appointment: but his conduct disappointed the hopes of those who wished for the establishment of the authority of France over the colony. In an expedition to the Mole, he acquired no laurels; and, although general Clausel reduced Fort-Dauphin by a vigorous siege, it was found expedient to abstain for a time from hostilities. During that interval, Dessalines, who had assumed the command of the insurgent army, procured important accessions to his means of annoyance; and, being desirous of bringing the war to a speedy close, he resolved to attack the French in their principal station. Rochambeau did not decline the challenge. The two armies met near Acul; and both were so far successful, as to capture many of their opponents. The French commander, regardless of the danger of retaliation, put his prisoners to death. Dessalines, who heard with horror the groans and shrieks of the dying men, prepared in his turn a terrific display of vengeance, for which no warrior can justly blame him. He ordered gibbets to be erected in the night; and, as soon as day appeared, all the officers who had fallen into his hands, and some of the inferior captives, were seen suspended, either dead or expiring.<sup>2</sup> The indignant negroes then rushed upon their enemies, and drove them in dismay to the town of Cape François, where a blockade was quickly formed and vigilantly maintained. A British squadron being sent to act against the French, the town was so closely watched, that no supplies could be introduced. The miseries of famine, and the dread of an assault which might lead to the massacre of the garrison, at length subdued the fortitude of Rochambeau, who, offering to capitulate, obtained honorable terms from the moderation of Dessalines. As if no such convention had been concluded, he soon after sent two officers to commodore Loring, to promise an evacuation of the town, if he and about 450 of his men should be suffered to return to France without any restrictions. This proposal being rejected as inadmissible, he remained in the town, vainly seek-

<sup>2</sup> Rainsford's Account of the Black Empire of Hayti.

ing an opportunity to escape. Noailles, the commandant at the Mole, also meditated a retreat, and he escaped in the night, with a part of his garrison, although five of his vessels were captured. Loring, weary of delay, concerted measures with Dessalines, who, having taken possession of the town, compelled the French to quit the harbour. Rochambeau, and about 8000 men, were then captured by the English, with three frigates and other vessels.<sup>3</sup> Nov. 30.

While the joy of triumph diffused itself over the island, Dessalines proclaimed its independence; and the negroes and mulattoes concurred in public declarations of eternal hatred and enmity to their cruel oppressors, denouncing death against every native of France who should dare to pollute the land of liberty with his sacrilegious footsteps. The fortunate general was invested with the supreme government for life; and he discharged the duties of his high station with a degree of ability which soared above the ordinary standard of barbarian intellect: but he frequently betrayed the cruelty of a despot, and his government was far from reaching the highest point of enlightened civilization.

In the East-Indies, at the same time, the interest of the French declined. When peace was restored to Europe by the treaty of Amiens, they had been gratified with an opportunity of renewing their intrigues among the native powers in India; and, as it was expected that they would more particularly endeavour to establish their influence in the Mahratta territories, the marquis Wellesley, who was then governor-general, renewed those proposals which had been repeatedly rejected, or evaded, for a revival of the alliance between the peishwah and the company. A dread of the domineering ascendancy of the English had inspired that prince with such jealousy and caution, that he would have continued to decline the delusive offer of their friendship, if his authority had not been endangered by the hostilities of Jeswunt Holkar, one of the most powerful Mahratta chieftains. He was encouraged in his reluctance by the advice of Dowlat Rao Scindiah, another independent leader, who promised to assist and protect him against his daring adversary. But when the storm of war impended over his capital, after the defeat of one of his generals, he consented to take into his service 6000 men from the native troops of the company, and to cede, for the pay of this force, such a portion of territory as would produce an annual revenue of 300,000



pounds. He then risked another battle, in which his troops and those of Scindiah were totally routed by Holkar, who, on the flight of the terrified prince, took possession of Poonah, and nominated a new peishwah. A treaty was now concluded at Bassein<sup>4</sup> with the fugitive, who, under the name of an ally, became a dependant of the powerful company. Troops were detached to his aid from various stations; and major-general Wellesley, an officer of the most promising talents, advanced to Poonah, from which the usurper fled in consternation. Scindiah, displeased at the completion of the treaty, endeavoured to draw Holkar and the rajah of Berar into a confederacy for its annulment, while he outwardly pretended to wish for a participation of its advantages. The former chieftain was not then disposed to risque the consequences of an open rupture with the British government; but the rajah listened to the overtures and persuasions of the ambitious malcontent, and even put his army in motion.<sup>5</sup>

It was the policy of the governor-general to construe every instance of an in compliant spirit, on the part of a native power, into an irrefragable proof of an intention of making war upon the English. He was ready to give credit to every hint or insinuation which imputed mischievous or aggressive views to the neighboring princes or states, and to rush into hostilities without that full and indisputable evidence, by which alone they could be justified. Flattering himself with the prospect of triumph, and with the hope of elevating the fame and power of his countrymen, and diffusing lustre over his administration, he seemed rather to wish for a discovery of the hostile machinations of an enemy, than for an opportunity of preserving peace without the loss of honor or the sacrifice of safety. Thus influenced, he gave to his brother such instructions as were apparently more calculated to produce hostilities than to secure peace.

A negotiation ensued with Scindiah and the rajah, who, being desired to withdraw their armies from the nizam's frontiers, expressed their unwillingness to comply with the requisition, unless the troops under the major-general should return at the same time to their respective stations. This point was warmly disputed; and the discussion terminated without effect. In the mean time, the marquis received information of the intrigues of M. Perron, a French adventurer, who, exercising the

<sup>4</sup> Dec. 31, 1802.

<sup>5</sup> History of Events and Transactions in India, by the Marquis Wellesley.



chief authority over the troops in the northern territories of Scindiah, endeavored to procure occasional accessions to his force from Pondichery, and who, it was also affirmed, intended to procure a transfer of the districts within the limits of his command to the French government. Connecting these intimations with the insubmissive behaviour of the two chieftains, he thought himself justified in having recourse to those sanguinary extremities which no consideration of mere political expediency could fairly or honorably authorise.<sup>6</sup>

The preparations for war were organized on a large scale. Four armies were amply provided with all the requisites of service, and subjected to the command of able generals. Wellesley opened the campaign with the siege of Ahmed-nagour; and, when he had taken the town by escalade, he intimidated the garrison of the fortress into a capitulation. He then crossed the Godaveri, and, when Scindiah menaced the nizam's capital, made such movements as deterred that chieftain from the prosecution of his purpose. Being desirous of a general engagement, and hearing that the two chiefs had encamped their united force near the Adjunte pass, he advanced to an attack, even without that additional strength which the expected junction of colonel Stevenson would have afforded him. If he had delayed his assault with a view to that co-operation, the enemy would probably have disappointed him by avoiding a conflict: he therefore moved forward with rapidity, and, by the smallness of his force, held out to his opponents a prospect of success. His whole force, it is said, did not exceed 4500 men,<sup>7</sup> and the Europeans did not amount to one half of that

<sup>6</sup> The author of the historical part of the Asiatic Annual Register, for 1803, eagerly defends the conduct of the governor-general, not only in the instance of the war, but in the propriety of the treaty of Bassein. It might be *expedient* to acquire a commanding influence at the court of Poonah; but it is not equally true, that this influence was "obtained and secured on principles of indisputable justice." To encroach on the independence of another state is too much in the French style to be consistent with justice.—The same writer incidentally discloses the real object of the war, when he says, that the marquis wished to "fix, on an extensive and solid basis, the *paramount power and authority* of the British government in the East." In answer to an adulatory address, presented at the close of the war by the inhabitants of Calcutta, the marquis declared that its object was, to vindicate and secure the legitimate rights, interest, and honor of the government and its allies, against *usurpation, violence and rapine*: but no proofs have been given of the justice of these imputations.

<sup>7</sup> So says the periodical historian to whom I lately referred: yet, as he estimates the major-general's army, in entering upon the campaign, at 16,823 men, it is difficult to conceive how it could be so reduced. He had scarcely sustained any loss in his progress to Assi: and, although he had detached a part of his force under Stevenson, it is not probable that he would send away, upon a less important service, a greater number than he reserved for his own operations. This remark is solely dictated by a regard to verisimilitude and consistency: it does not involve the smallest wish to detract from the lustre of the victory, or from the well-earned fame of the duke of Wellington.

Sept. 23. number ; while the Mahrattas encountered him with 30,000. Their infantry drawn up in two lines near Assi on the Juah, derived protection from a great supply of artillery, which they had been taught by the French to manage with dexterity. Ordering his cavalry to cover his right, the major-general advanced with his whole line, exposed to a very heavy fire, by which his right more particularly suffered. The same division also sustained a fierce attack from the Mahratta horse. For the rescue of the endangered battallions, his cavalry rushed forward, repelled the equestrian force of the enemy, and diffused terror among all the opposing ranks. The exertions of his infantry completed the energetic impression ; and the confederates retreated at all points. In the pursuit, many of the artillery-men, whom the British troops had suffered to remain unmolested, because their prostration, and forbearance of motion, gave them the appearance of death, took an opportunity of bringing some pieces of cannon into play with harrassing effect ; and a large body of infantry faced about, and renewed the attack : but the indignation and vigor of the pursuers at length subdued all opposition. About 1200 of the vanquished lost their lives ; and their wounded were numerously scattered over the country. Of the European victors, 640 were killed or wounded ; and, of the native combatants, about 900.

While Wellesley thus triumphed in the Decan, Lake, who acted as commander in chief, invaded the northern part of India with success. His first object was the destruction of the power of Perron. He found that officer in a strong position near Coel ; but, by turning his left flank, and menacing him with an impetuous attack from the cavalry, he over-awed the adventurer into a rapid retreat. He soon after took Ali-Gour by storm, profiting by the enemy's neglect of some precautions which might have rendered that fortress impregnable. The loss of this grand *depot*, the decline of Schindiah's regard and attachment, and the want of a firm dependence on the officers, induced Perron to resign his employment.

General Lake now advanced toward Delhi, where another French commander supported the interest of Scindiah. Louis Bourguien crossed the Jumna to oppose him, and drew up his infantry on a rising ground, between swamps which were guarded by cavalry, his front being protected by entrenchments and batteries. He weakly suffered himself to be drawn out of these works by a pretended retreat, and advanced to the attack, announcing his purpose by a tremendous fire from a

wide range of artillery ; which, however, did not disorder the British line. Major-general Ware led the right wing, Sept. 11. and Mr. Saint John the left ; while colonel St. Leger conducted the cavalry. The two former divisions quickly made an impression upon the enemy by well-directed discharges of musquetry, and, by the subsequent use of the bayonet, spread confusion among the thronged ranks. A furious charge of the cavalry completed the defeat : a great slaughter ensued ; and many who attempted to escape perished in the stream. This victory, according to the statement of the commander in chief, was obtained by 4500 men over four times that number, with the death of only 109 Europeans and natives. The result was the acquisition of Delhi, which the company particularly wished to secure. Sha Aalum, the last Mogul emperor, resided in that city, as a prisoner of state rather than a prince ; and he was so pleased at the success of the English, that he received their general with marks of high respect, as a hero who had rescued him from thralldom and degradation.

A natural sequel to the conquest of Delhi was that of Agra : but, before the citadel could be taken, it was necessary to dislodge seven battalions from the town, as well as from an encampment and some ravines in the neighborhood. This service was accomplished by a resolute attack ; and the combatants who escaped destruction surrendered to the assailants. The fortress was garrisoned by about 5500 men ; but, as soon as the batteries had made a breach in the walls, the governor capitulated. About the same time, the province of Bundelcund was freed from the controul of Scindiah by the defeat of one of his detachments.

The British arms were also prosperous in the east and the west. The province of Cuttack was invaded by a small but sufficient force : the chief town and the sacred city of Jagarnaut were taken without a blow : Balasore made a spiritless resistance ; and the fort of Barabatti was captured by a vigorous assault. On the side of Guzerat, the town and fortress of Baraoch, partly garisoned by Arabs, were reduced, and other conquests attended the progress of the Bombay army.

Of the troops which escaped from the battle of Delhi, two battalions joined fifteen, sent from the Decan under M. Dudermaigue. This officer had surrendered to the English ; but his successor had taken an advantageous post near Laswaree, and guarded his front with an abundance of artillery. General Lake endeavored to dislodge him with the cavalry Nov. 1. alone ; but the resistance was so vigorous, that this

attack proved unsuccessful. The infantry then advanced, under the protection of four batteries. That part of the first column which led the attack suffered so severely in advancing, that, instead of waiting for the rest of the division before the assault should commence, the general ordered the men to charge without delay. They boldly approached the enemy's artillery, and repelled an assault of cavalry; and, when the latter had rallied, a regiment of British dragoons came up, and put them to flight. The other troops of the same column at length afforded their effective aid; and the second division, subsequently advancing, made a forcible impression, which was completed by the exertions of the reserve. Above 2000 men were made prisoners; but, out of the whole number, only the chief officers were detained. Of the British troops and their associates, 820 were killed or wounded; but, on the side of the Mahrattas, at least 4500 may be supposed to have suffered.

As the battle of Laswari elevated the fame of Lake, whose alertness, courage, and skill, were eminently conspicuous on the occasion, the victory which was obtained on the plains of Argam reflected additional lustre on the military character of Wellesley. He had promised to grant an armistice to Scindiah in the west and the south; but, as the condition upon which it depended had not been strictly executed, he disregarded all the remonstrances of that chieftain's ambassadors, and resolved to attack both his troops and those of the rajah, if he should find them in a state of combination and apparent concert. He was soon gratified with the desired opportunity. Having arranged his infantry in one line, and his cavalry in another, he coolly advanced, repelled a considerable force which had ventured to assault him, routed also the cavalry of Scindiah, and quickly triumphed in all parts of the field. Nov. 28. Gawilgour was soon after taken; and the supposed defensibility of the two forts of Marock did not secure them from a speedy reduction.

Finding all resistance fruitless, the rajah now sued for peace. Dec. 17. He bound himself to a renunciation of all connexion with Scindiah or any other Mahratta chieftain who remained hostile to the company; to an exclusion of all Frenchmen, and of the subjects of any power which might be at war with the British government, from his service; and to a similar discouragement of all British subjects, unless the assent of the company to their reception should be obtained. He also agreed to a cession of the province of Cuttack, and other territories; and, on the other hand it was stipulated that no as-

sistance should be given to any of his enemies or malcontent subjects. Scindiah was also obliged to purchase peace by a variety of cessions. He resigned all his territories between the Jumna and the Ganges, the district of Baroach, the lands between the adjuntee hills, and the Godavari, and other possessions; and, as he did not obstinately contest these points, he was complimented with the restitution of several forts and their dependencies. He promised not to encourage or employ the obnoxious adventurers whom France sent forth to seek their fortunes in India; and declared, with regard to Sha Aalum, that he renounced all claims and all interference.

These territorial acquisitions, and the ruin of the French influence among the Mahrattas, gave great joy to the British subjects in Hindostan; and the abilities and energy of the governor-general were as highly applauded as the martial talents of the victorious commanders.

While the war was raging on the continent of India, an adjacent island was involved in sanguinary commotions.

It was a natural supposition, that the conquest of the Dutch territories in Ceylon by a nation which had long manifested, in its Indian dependencies, a spirit of ambition and encroachment, hostile to the rights of the native powers, would excite jealousy at the court of Kandi. A pompous embassy to the king, sent from Columbo by Mr. North the governor, served only to allay his apprehensions for a time; and he at length made great preparations for war, as if he expected to be attacked, or intended to be the aggressor. That this was his intention, the friends of the government affirmed; and it was stated that, in repeated instances, traders had been robbed by the king's officers of valuable commodities, without the allegation of irregular traffic. All remonstrances being disregarded, troops were sent into the Kandian territories, under the command of Mac-Dowal, to enforce reparation. In their way to the capital, they seized some strong posts, and easily dispersed the different divisions of the native army. The king and his prime minister fled with their treasures: the inhabitants destroyed many articles which they could not conveniently carry away; and attempts were made to consume by fire the palace and the temples: but the flames were speedily extinguished by the invaders. The re-assembled Kandians, advancing to expel their enemies from the town, were resolutely opposed, and defeated with great loss.

Overtures were now made by the general for an accommo-



dation : but the king, trusting to the climate for the ruin of his enemies, or meditating vengeance for the invasion, disdained the idea of a treaty. It was therefore resolved by the governor, that he should be considered as an abdicator of the throne. A prince of the same family, who had been a refugee at Columbo, was proclaimed king, with the apparent acquiescence of the people ; and hostilities against the deposed prince were suspended. The minister who had lately presided in the cabinet was continued in power ; and affairs seemed to wear an aspect of tranquility. The greater part of the army having returned into the British territories, only 700 men remained to garrison Kandi, under major Davie, beside small parties at other posts. Upon each of those stations, an attack was suddenly made before the expiration of the armistice, in consequence of a secret concert between the minister and the former king. The major, after a short defence, consented to an evacuation of the fort, on the condition of an unmolested retreat ; but he and his party were prevented from crossing the river, and compelled to give up their arms ; and, while the Malays and Lascars were spared, fifteen British officers, and about 150 privates were put to death. From the other stations, the garrisons escaped with scarcely any loss. The atrocious massacre was followed by an invasion of the British districts, and the capture of several settlements : but the most important towns and fortresses were well defended and maintained ; and, after the arrival of succours from Bengal and the Cape of Good Hope, not only the Kandians were expelled from the places which they had taken, but the Ceylonese who had revolted were reduced to submission. A vigorous attempt upon Hangwelle, personally directed by the prince who had restored himself to his throne, flattered him with the hope of success : but, after three assaults, the tyrant was repelled with very severe loss. He then returned to his capital ; and peace and order resumed their influence in the colonial districts.<sup>8</sup>

In the commotions of Ceylon the French had no concern ; but they could not behold, without envy and dissatisfaction, the progressive establishment of the British power on the continent of India. Upon the whole, notwithstanding the seizure of Hanover, they had so little reason to exult in the success of the renewed war, that it would have been good policy in their ruler to content himself with the undisputed supremacy of a flourishing state, instead of affording, by wanton encroachment, a pretence for hostility on the part of Great Britain.



When the king again convoked the parliament, Nov. 22. he mentioned the necessity of continuing the contest; and, referring to the menace of invasion, expressed his firm conviction, that, if the enemies of the nation should attempt to execute that presumptuous threat, the "consequences would be, to them, discomfiture, confusion and disgrace." But, while he lamented the existence of a war with any power, he was pleased at the opportunity of stating, that all disputes with the court of Stockholm had been accomodated by a treaty,<sup>9</sup> which, maintaining our maratime rights, gave at the same time a fair advantage to the neutral prince, who was merely prevented from furnishing the enemies of the other party with the implements and means of hostility.

Amidst the parliamentary deliberations, a change in the administration was prognosticated by the increasing animosity and embittered dissensions of party. When Mr. Pitt resigned, he had no wish or intention of long remaining without the gratifications of power and patronage: he hoped to find, after the experiment of pacification, an opportunity of re-asserting his high pretensions. For two years after his retreat from office, he supported the ministers with apparent zeal; but, when the premier seemed inclined to renounce his subserviency to his patron, and when the continuance of the war opened to the ambitious statesman a prospect of retrieving his fame as a determined enemy of France, and as an able director of vigorous hostilities, he resolved to display his parliamentary importance in such a mode as might ensure his recal to power. He did not regularly enlist in the ranks of opposition, but took opportunities of reprehending the feeble measures of the court, and of urging the necessity of a more vigorous and effective system. Being now attacked by three parties,—namely, by the friends and admirers of Mr. Pitt, by Mr. Windham, and the clamorous advocates for war, and by the permanent members of opposition,—Mr. Addington found his situation so insecure, that, although he enjoyed the unreserved confidence of the king, he resolved to retire from the helm. He had tried the effect of an overture A. D. 1804. to Mr. Pitt for his return to the high station which he had formerly filled, and the re-admission of lord Melville and other friends into such offices as he might wish them to accept. In the answer that was given to this application, a wish was expressed for the inclusion of earl Spencer and lord Grenville in the new arrangements; but it was added, that he would not

<sup>9</sup> Signed at London on the 25th of July, 1803.

make any specific proposals, until he should receive an intimation from his majesty, that his services in the cabinet were deemed essential to the strength of the government. This reply was not satisfactory, because the warm opposition of those noblemen to the prime minister, and their undisguised contempt of his talents and capacity, rendered them highly obnoxious to him. Having continued to act until his majorities May 7. alarmingly declined, he at length declared his intention of resigning his employment; and a royal message was sent to Mr. Pitt, desiring him to name the persons by whom he would wish to be assisted in the cabinet. Some difficulties occurred in the important settlement. It was required, on the part of a great personage, that the question of catholic relief should not be brought forward; and it was also stated, that the admission of Mr. Fox into the cabinet would not be agreeable. With these exceptions, Mr. Pitt was allowed to act at his discretion. He immediately invited lord Grenville and his principal friends to the honours and advantages of ministerial association: but his lordship replied in a high tone, that, at a crisis which imperiously demanded an union of weight, talents, and character, in the public service, he would not assist in forming an administration on the illiberal principle of exclusion. Disgusted at the rejection of his offers, and apprehending a strong opposition to his present arrangements and future measures, Mr. Pitt was seriously embarrassed in his choice. He at length resolved to retain in the cabinet six of those individuals whose incapacity and misconduct he had lately censured and condemned; and, to complete the allowed number, he selected four of his steady partisans,—the lords Melville, Harrowby, Mulgrave, and Camden.<sup>10</sup>

The re-instated premier directed his early attention to the great concerns of national defence; but, as the subject required long deliberation both in the cabinet and in parliament, his plan was not so speedily carried into effect as he wished or intended. The removal of those obstacles which diminished the efficacy of the recruiting service, and the establishment of a foundation for a regular increase of the army, amidst a due attention to internal defence and security, were the chief objects which the scheme involved. It was proposed, that the militia of Great-Britain should be gradually reduced to 48,000 men, exclusive of the supplementary bodies; that the supply of

<sup>10</sup> He afterwards suffered his disgust at the conduct and administration of Mr. Addington to give way to a desire of association; and lord Sidmouth (for the ex-minister was ennobled by that title) was appointed president of the council.

a more regular additional force should be rendered a parochial duty, with a limitation of the bounty to be offered; and that a neglect of this duty should be compensated by fines, while the rigors of the former ballot should be allayed. The plan did not promise to be more effective than the arrangements of Mr. Addington, who ventured to assert his conviction of its comparative futility: but it passed triumphantly through the ordeal of debate, being in vain assailed by ridicule and censure.

From his anxiety on the subject of defence, Mr. Pitt was seemingly more apprehensive of an invasion than the generality of the nation; and in the speech which he framed for his majesty at the prorogation, he observed that the preparations for that purpose were daily augmented, and that "the attempt appeared to have been delayed, only with a view of procuring additional means for carrying it into execution." He exaggerated the danger, that his defensive precautions might be more highly appreciated.

The first consul of France was as eager to confirm his power, as the English minister was to defend his menaced country. He looked forward to a more august title and a more imposing establishment; and, to evince the necessity of strengthening the government, he propagated rumors of traitorous intrigues and alarming conspiracies, promoted by the British court. Two malcontents were shot, under a charge of aiming at his destruction; but no persuasions could induce them to acknowledge that they had received any encouragement from Great Britain. The vengeance of the government was also directed against Moreau (the celebrated general,) Pichegru, and the Chouan Georges, who were accused of a revolutionary plot.

While the fate of these citizens remained in suspense, the supposed hostility of a prince of the house of Bourbon led to the perpetration of an atrocious act of wanton cruelty. Louis duke d'Enghien, grandson of the prince de Conde, who had served among the royalists in the preceeding war, was suddenly apprehended in the neutral territory of Baden by Caulincourt and a party of dragoons, conveyed to the castle of Vincennes, and accused of having solicited a commission in the British service, of being the leader of a body of armed emigrants, and of a participation in the late conspiracy. Being condemned after an irregular process by a military committee, he was conducted at night into a neighbouring wood, and shot by some Italian mercenaries. This outrage excited general horror even

in France; but the terrors of despotism silenced the rising murmurs, and stifled the expressions of just indignation.

In the machinations imputed to Moreau and Pichegru, Mr. Drake, the English envoy at Munich, was implicated, by the report of the grand judge Regnier, who declared that the real object of that minister's mission was to find agents for the assassination of the first consul, and the propagation of treason and revolt in France.<sup>11</sup> His alleged delinquency was announced, in an official note, to all the diplomatic residents at Paris; some of whose answers were so offensive to the British Court, that a charge, which would otherwise have been treated with silent contempt, was repelled with spirit by lord Hawkesbury, as far as it related to murderous plots: but the secretary did not deny, that some attention had been given to the schemes of the justly dissatisfied inhabitants of France, for liberating their country from a disgraceful yoke;—an interference which was allowed by the law of nations, and which the French government practised without hesitation in the case of Ireland.

While the people were in expectation of a legal process against the imprisoned enemies of Bonaparte, he amused them with a change of dignity, and allured the subjects of a nominal republic to an acquiescence in his assumption of imperial supremacy. The acquisition of the highest title of sovereignty, and its continuance in his family, had long been the great objects of his desire; and the conjuncture seemed particularly favourable to his views, when he had impressed the nation with a belief of the existence of treacherous conspiracies against him, which, it was supposed, would be more effectually obviated by the complete establishment of his authority. The servile senate, acquainted with his wishes, and tutored by his devoted partisans, voted an address, proposing that he should be declared hereditary emperor of France. He gave a gracious answer to this pleasing proposal, which was repeated in a number of addresses both from civil and military bodies. The citizens of the capital recommended it, not merely as the grand point to which their own inclinations tended, but because it coincided with the general wish of the nation, expressed at the commencement of the revolution. A member of the

<sup>11</sup> Upon a similar charge, sir George Rumbold, the British minister at Hamburg, was seized in the following autumn by a party of French soldiers, and conveyed to Paris; but, when his papers had been examined, he was restored to liberty. To the king of Prussia, as a director of the circle of Lower Saxony, his majesty complained of this outrage: but all remonstrances were unavailing, and no reparation was obtained from the French government.

tribunate named Cureau, submitted it to the consideration of that body ; and, as it was reprobated only by the republican spirit of Carnot, it was adopted by the assembly, with a proviso that the constituted authorities, in regulating the intended establishment, should make all due provisions for securing and maintaining equality, liberty, and the rights of the people. When this resolution was communicated to the senate, the vice-president Neufchateau panegyricised the wisdom and patriotism of the tribunes, for having agreed to a measure which promised to be so beneficial to France ; and, after an affected delay, as if a pre-meditated and pre-determined scheme required long deliberation, the assembly decreed, that the imperial May 18. dignity should be granted to Napoleon and his descendants. The president Cambaceres, repairing to St. Cloud with his courtly brethren, intimated to the fortunate adventurer, that this decree was only the authentic expression of a wish previously manifested by the French people ; that it made no addition either to his glory or his rights ; that it was a tribute which the nation paid to its own dignity, and a mark of respect, attachment and gratitude, to its defender and protector ; and the restorer of order and justice. He replied, that he accepted the new title without hesitation, but that he would submit to the popular deliberation the point of hereditary succession. He immediately ordered four high appointments. His brothers Joseph and Louis, and the two citizens who had been his fellow consuls, were respectively declared grand elector, constable, arch-chancellor and arch-treasurer of the empire. To his most distinguished generals he gave the title of marshal ; and, that this designation might not be debased by extension, it was limited to sixteen individuals, beside a few senators who were allowed to enjoy it.

The new decree included a modification of the preceding constitutional code. After declaring that the dignity of emperor of the French should be hereditary in the direct and legitimate descent of Napoleon, and permitting him, if he should have no male issue, to adopt the children or grand-children of his brothers, it fixed the mode of appointing a regent in case of minority, which was to expire before the completion of the eighteenth year. The regent might be named by the reigning prince, or (on failure of such nomination) by the senate, first from his own family ; and afterward from the number of those who held the five grand dignities of the empire.<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>12</sup> Namely, the four above mentioned, and that of high admiral.



possessors of these dignities, and all the great officers of the crown, were to be indulged, in case of removal, with the retention of their titles and privileges, and a moiety of their salaries, which they could only forfeit by a judicial sentence for delinquency. With regard to the senatorial assembly, it was to be partly formed by the emperor from lists of candidates presented by the electoral colleges, and partly from his spontaneous choice. The legislative body and the tribunate were, as in the former code, to be named by the senate. All laws were to originate from the sovereign, or to be proposed in his name; and it was stated that his delay in promulgating a law, beyond the tenth day from its presentation, should be equivalent to a rejection, unless it should be re-adopted by the legislature; even in which case, it was not expressly declared that he was obliged or expected to enact it. A high imperial court was erected for the cognisance of crimes committed against the state, or of any offences imputed to dignified persons: the arch-chancellor was the president of this tribunal. The judges of the ordinary courts were appointed for life, and therefore had a shadow of independence, which, however, could not secure them against the general despotism of the government.

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### LETTER III.

*Continuation of the History of Europe, to the Eruption of a War between Great Britain and Spain.*

THE new plan of sovereignty in France was so artfully formed, and with such a seeming regard to the public will, that the advocates of the pretensions of the encroaching family entertained a strong hope of its permanence: but, while the people seemed to favor the proposal, it was the influence of the army that led to its adoption. The only pretence for the elevation of an adventurer to the supreme power was the expediency of substituting a man of courage and talent for a feeble scion of the hereditary stock: yet, when that point was secured upon the only basis on which it could rest, the principle



of *elective* pretensions, the grossest inconsistency was betrayed in the revival of *hereditary* interest—a doctrine which the first consul, at the commencement of his career, was eager to explode.

An early opportunity of notifying Bonaparte's change of exterior dignity was taken by the French ministers at the different courts of Europe; and the majority of princes and states acknowledged Napoleon by his new title. But the king of Great Britain, unwilling to follow the example of William III., who acknowledged Philip V. of Spain, even while he meditated his dethronement, scorned the idea of giving his sanction to that assumption of authority which he would gladly have annulled; and the claimant of the French crown, whose pretensions seemed to be rendered almost hopeless by the ostensible confirmation of the usurper's power, protested against the conduct of the "senate of Paris," and declared that he conceived himself bound by a sense of his own rights, and of the concurrent rights of other sovereigns, to condemn the dangerous principles which that assembly had dared to promulgate. The exiled prince was then at Warsaw; and the French minister at Berlin was ordered to draw him from his asylum, by proposing that he should be sent by the king of Prussia into France, to answer for his concern in the conspiracy: but the insolent demand was not granted even by the too passive Frederic.

Before the judges took cognisance of the treasonable charges, Pichegru died in confinement. It was affirmed that he had committed suicide: but it was more generally believed, that he was murdered by the order of a tyrant, who was known to be composed of such unyielding materials, and to possess such an obduracy of heart, as not to shrink at any enormity.

Moreau was accused of aiming at the restoration of the house of Bourbon; and it appeared, on his trial, that Georges, hoping to profit by the disgust which the general felt at the usurpation and tyranny of Bonaparte, endeavoured to procure the concurrence of such a respectable citizen in a conspiracy: but it was not proved that, in the interview which took place between them, any promises of concert had been given to the Chouan chief. Rowland declared, that, at his request, Moreau had twice consented to meet Pichegru; that, in the first conference, they did not seem to agree; but that, when the latter asked whether his friend would head a movement in favor of the royalists, this answer was given: "If you will act according to my opinion, the consuls must disappear; and, in that case, I may have sufficient influence to obtain the chief

authority." These expressions were denied by Moreau, and explained away by his advocate Bonnet.

As the abbe David had eagerly promoted an intercourse between the accused generals, he was examined on the subject; and he admitted that he had conceived the idea of approximating these great men to each other, because he was of opinion that their union might be useful to France.

There was nothing treasonable in David's agency. Having found that Moreau was highly pleased at the proposal of renewed friendship, he undertook a journey to London, as the bearer of a letter to Pichegru; but when he was on the point of embarkation, he was arrested at Calais. Another agent was Lajolais, whom Pichegru had sent to learn the precise sentiments of his former associate in arms; and who, although he only received general assurances of regard for the exiled citizen, was inclined to deduce conclusions so favorable to the views of the malcontents, that he ventured to represent Moreau as ready to engage in any scheme calculated for the subversion of the existing despotism. A strict concert, in the meantime, subsisted between Georges and Pichegru; and it was agreed, that an attempt should be made to seize Bonaparte in one of his rides from Paris to Saint-Cloud. To promote the conspiracy in person, Pichegru returned to France, surprising the general by an intimation of the readiness of the confederates to carry it into immediate effect, and requesting him to sanction it by his concurrence. Moreau, while he expressed a wish for the restoration of the royal family, stated the expediency of longer preparation, and of a gradual progress in the organization of the hazardous scheme; and therefore declined an immediate concern in it. But his friend, by earnest persuasion, prevailed upon him to enter so far into the league, as to promise that if Georges and his associates should find an opportunity of executing the scheme of personal seizure, he would take the most active measures for protecting them against the vengeance of the tyrant's partisans.<sup>1</sup>

After trials which were conducted with seeming impartiality, nineteen of the accused citizens were condemned to death. Moreau, and four of his supposed accomplices were sentenced to imprisonment for two years; and nineteen were acquitted. Georges and ten of his associates were subjected to the summary stroke of the guillotine. The lives of eight were spared; but they were ordered to remain in

<sup>1</sup> See c Details concerning General Moreau, by Paul Svinine.

prison for four years, and to be subsequently banished. It was the earnest wish of the new emperor, that Moreau should be capitally convicted: but when he felt the pulse of his army, he found that the extremity of vengeance, in the case of so distinguished a general, would excite high indignation; and even the judges were not disposed to gratify him in this respect. He therefore contented himself with the denunciation of a moderate punishment; and it was intimated to Moreau, that he was at liberty to retire to North America.

A British officer, who had landed Pichegru and other exiles on the French coast, unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy. He was soon discovered to be captain Wright, who had served under Sydney Smith, and had escaped with him from the Temple. As no confessions, tending to a development of the conspiracy, or to an explanation of the concern which Great Britain was supposed to have had in it, could be extorted from him, he was detained in confinement to the time of his death.<sup>2</sup>

Elate with the splendour of the imperial dignity, and pleased with the idea of having impressed a salutary terror by the late acts of vengeance, Napoleon considered his power as so firmly established, that he might safely defy the indignation or the jealousy of foreign princes. He disregarded the remonstrances of the Russian emperor, who, assuming a prominent attitude, espoused the cause of offended Europe, and, in a tone of dignified spirit, enumerated the acts of encroachment and usurpation, which the ruler of France had committed. Far from acknowledging the irregularity or the injustice of his conduct, he vindicated the seizure of the duke d'Enghien, as consistent with the law of nations, which could not justly protect a rebel, merely because he was at the distance of two leagues from the territory of that nation against which he was armed; and, when the retention of troops and assumption of power in various countries were mentioned by M. d'Oubril as legitimate grounds of interference, he evaded instead of answering the complaint. He haughtily desired Alexander to execute his own engagements, and not encourage the enemies of France, or violate the independence of other states, particularly animadverting on the change which that prince was said to have effected by his own authority in the government of the Ionian Islands. The Russian minister declared, that his sovereign had in no re-

2. It is generally supposed, that he was first tortured, and then murdered. This charge against the tyrant has never been fully proved; nor has it been disproved. The denial of it, in a private conversation at St. Helena, is certainly unsatisfactory.

spect neglected his political obligations, while the French government, regardless of its stipulations of concert with the court of Petersburg, withheld all indemnity from the king of Sardinia, subjected the king of Naples to military intimidation, domineered over the whole of Italy, sullied the honour of Germany by an unwarrantable arrest, and violated, by the invasion of Hanover, the integrity of the imperial territory; and, in opposition to the statement respecting the sept-insular republic, he affirmed that the Russian troops had left that state to the occupancy of Neapolitans, with the concurrence of the people and the Turkish emperor, and in consequence of a previous arrangement with France. As the extraordinary state of affairs had arisen solely from the conduct of France, it would depend, he said, on the moderation of the cabinet of St. Cloud, whether war should ensue or peace be continued. All correspondence was useless between powers thus disagreeing in essential points of public law and policy; and it was proper for the diplomatic ministers to retire from the respective capitals.

This show of defiance had no immediate effect. Alexander did not consider the proceedings of Napoleon as a justification of war; and the imperial usurper was not then disposed to commence hostilities in the north. The clouds which seemed to indicate a storm quietly passed away. No correspondent emotions were manifested by the princes or states of Germany. The elector of Baden patiently bore the insult offered to him by the French government, and trusted to the good intentions of its *exalted head*. Frederick William would not have remonstrated against a greater outrage; and Francis, while he witnessed the decline of the dignity of the empire, did not insist upon a reparation of the affront. Concluding that the title of *emperor* of Germany would soon become an empty name, this prince assumed that designation in the capacity of Austrian sovereign. It was his duty (he said,) as chief of the house of Hapsburg, to maintain an equality of exterior dignity with the first powers of Europe; and he thought himself fully authorised to follow, in this respect, the example of Russia and of France. In announcing this determination, he disclaimed all intentions of resigning his lawful rights, and declared that his political relations and connexions with the Germanic body would remain unchanged. The king of Sweden objected to this arrangement, and proposed that it should be submitted to the consideration of the diet; but this reference was deemed unnecessary by the other princes of the imperial

Aug. 28.

confederacy. Between Gustavus and Napoleon some altercation passed on the subject of the arbitrary arrest; and the king, offended at the invectives thrown out against him in the official print of the arrogant dictator, ordered a cessation of all intercourse, except that of trade, between Sweden and France.

The subjects of the United Provinces more severely felt, than those of any other state, the effects of French despotism. They were obliged to contribute largely to the support of a war in which they had no wish to engage: they were oppressed in every mode; and their patience or servility only exposed them to insult. Their concern in the war, however reluctant, threatened them with the loss of their colonies. A small force being sent from Barbadoes, a descent was made near the mouth of the Surinam river: the inferior forts and batteries on both banks were stormed with inconsiderable loss; and the garrison of Fort Amsterdam then capitulated,<sup>3</sup> although eighty pieces of artillery were mounted for its defence. The naval spoils consisted only of a frigate, and a sloop: the prisoners amounted to 2000.

Few maritime exploits distinguished the second year of the war. Rear admiral Linois, sailing from the Isle of France to the Indian ocean, captured many British vessels; and, meeting with a large fleet belonging to the company, he was tempted by the desire of spoil, and yet unwilling to risk a general attack, as these ships were not destitute of guns. He had one ship of the line, three frigates, and a brig: the trading fleet consisted of fifteen vessels. The captains offered battle; but he remained at a distance. He at length ventured to approach the rear, in the hope of cutting off a part of the fleet; but, when three ships tacked and bore down upon him, he fired with little effect, and then retreated. The exertions of captain Dance and his associates for the preservation of such a mass of valuable property, were rewarded by the company, and honoured with general applause.

An attack was made by sir Sydney Smith upon the flotilla which had been equipped at Flushing for the invasion of our island: but the fortifications and gun-boats of Ostend, and the firing from a camp near the shore, so powerfully aided the operations of the praams and schooners, that only a small number could be sunken or irreparably injured. In the autumn, a feeble attempt was made for the destruction of the flotilla at Boulogne by the use of *catamarans*, October 2.



or fire-machines of a new construction. The scheme at first excited horror among the French; but, when its inefficacy was witnessed, it produced derision; and, by the British community, it was assailed with sarcasm and ridicule, although an able and meritorious officer was employed in its execution. Lord Keith selected some of his best officers for this service; and at night, several floating caissons, filled with combustibles, prepared to explode mechanically, were sent against the enemy's vessels: but they blew up with so little effect, that only a pinnace was destroyed by the explosion.<sup>4</sup> Some of these machines were afterwards used, with very imperfect success, for the destruction of a battery near Calais, which frequently protected detachments of the flotilla from hostile pursuit.

A greater loss of lives than Great Britain sustained in any of the naval conflicts of the year, arose from the calamity of shipwreck. A commercial fleet, bound to the West Indies, met with tempestuous weather in the spring near the coast of Portugal, and about thirty-five vessels, beside the Apollo frigate, were wrecked. Some of them were overwhelmed by the waves with all who were on board; and, in almost every ship two or more perished, while the frigate lost sixty of her crew.

There was little employment, at this time, for the military force of Great Britain: but the probability of an extension of the war, suggested by the state and circumstances of Spain, flattered the naval servants of the public with the hopes of triumph. In the mean time, the contending nations were not disposed to recede from their respective pretensions, as each had a high opinion of the extent of those resources which would maintain public dignity, and provide for the general safety.

After a formal and splendid coronation, in which the pope meanly officiated, Napoleon opened a new session of the legislative body. He then exhibited, by the medium of Champagne, a pompous display of the flourishing state of France. The first object of notice was the tranquility of the country, equal to that of the calmest periods. Mutual harmony and confidence, said the minister, prevailed between the nation and the government; and the improvement of public and private property attested the progress of security. This safety had been more effectually established by the change of the republic

<sup>4</sup> It is, in general, very unsafe to trust to the French account of any engagement: but in this instance, the assertions of Admiral Bruix and general Soult are not sufficiently invalidated by the loose remark of Lord Keith, who, instead of making positive mention of any particular act of destruction, merely says, "Two of the brigs, and several of the smaller vessels, appear to be missing."



into an hereditary empire; a change not imposed upon the people by arbitrary influence or commanding authority, but produced by the free and unfettered will of the community. By the concomitant regulations, greater lustre and impression had been given to the functions of a legislator; the office of a judge had been rendered more respectable, and his impartiality was better secured; high trusts and employments were brought within the probable reach of all; and the rights of the citizens were as fully guarantied as those of the sovereign. A new criminal code was on the point of adoption; and such schemes of law as had been matured by long discussion, would be submitted to the deliberation of the popular representatives. The schools both of primary and progressive instruction were well conducted; and the arts and sciences were far from declining. Commerce had resumed its activity; and, in various branches of manufacture which were connected with the use of machinery, the skill of the French rivalled the boasted eminence of the English. Agriculture was prosecuted with great industry, and in the most intelligent manner; and a multiplication of the true riches of the state struck every eye. Increasing wealth had enlarged the bounds of beneficence, which did not confine itself to the liberality of the moment, but, by patronising charitable establishments, extended its blessings to futurity. This exercise of good-will toward mankind was encouraged by a sense of religion, which, accompanied by a wise toleration, had resumed its empire in France.

Adverting to the army and navy, the orator spoke favorably of both establishments, affirming that the latter was in a better state than it had been for the ten preceding years, and that the military force was never before so numerous or so well organized. The finances, he added, were in a good train, and all the burthens of the war would be sustained without serious injury. He applauded the conduct of Spain, in resisting the aggressive violence of Great Britain; complimented the Austrian emperor on his attention to the arts of peace; represented the king of Prussia, and all other German princes and states, as the friends of France; commended the temperate and judicious policy of Denmark; contemptuously omitted all mention of Sweden; and hinted that the Russian potentate would act wisely in cultivating the friendship of the new emperor, not only with a view to his commercial relations, but also to the balance of European power. He concluded his frothy effusion by animadverting on the folly and animosity of that government which had rushed into a war without motive or object.

and which having thus entangled itself, would never obtain from the French any other conditions of peace than those of Amiens.

This haughty manifestation of Napoleon's sentiments had scarcely reached our island, when a renewal of pacification was proposed, in a letter written by himself to the British sovereign. After a threat of dictating the terms of peace, his sincerity in this overture may reasonably be questioned, as he could not suppose that a court which had commenced a war in violation of the late treaty, upon the alleged ground of a systematic deviation from its spirit on the part of the French, would be induced, by his mere solicitations or his plausible professions, to abandon such pretensions as seemed to be substantially just. He requested his royal adversary to consider, that all hopes of forming a continental coalition against France were apparently fallacious; to relinquish a contest which could not produce any gratifying result to a prince who had already attained the height of prosperity; to desist from adding colonies to those territorial dependencies of which he had a super-abundance; and to sacrifice resentment at the shrine of humanity. This communication was rather evaded than answered. Lord Mulgrave assured M. Talleyrand, that the king had no object more at heart, than the attainment of an honourable and secure peace; but that, as the safety and tranquility of Europe ought, in his opinion, to be combined with the interest of his dominions, it seemed to be his duty, and it was certainly his wish, to consult those princes with whom he was engaged in confidential connexions and relations, particularly the Russian emperor, "who had given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of his sentiments, and of the lively interest which he took in the safety and independence of the continent." Similar remarks were introduced into the speech which the king addressed to the two houses at the commencement of the next session; and he, at the same time, took notice of the evident subjection of his catholic majesty to the influence and controul of France, which had recently impelled that prince into a denunciation of war.

By the treaty of St. Ildefonso, Spain had bound herself to assist France with all her disposable force, whenever her aid might be required for any hostile purpose: but, instead of sending a naval or military force in the present war, she had agreed to the payment of a monthly subsidy. The British minister at Madrid had remonstrated against this grant; promising,

however, not to resent it by arms, if no other violations of neutrality should be committed. A report of preparations in some of the Spanish ports led to another expostulation; and it was intimated by the king's representative, that, unless all armaments should cease, and the sale of prizes be prohibited, he would quit the court to which he had been deputed. It was only on the latter and less material point that satisfaction was obtained. As the court continued to favour the French with the use of its treasures, and to make preparations which indicated an intention of arming, the remonstrances assumed a more peremptory tone; and, as the answers were evasive, the complaining minister left Madrid. Before this indication of a rupture occurred, an attack had been made upon a Spanish squadron returning from South America with treasure and valuable merchandise, in consequence of the refusal of its commander to submit to an arbitrary detention. After a short engagement three of the vessels were captured; and one blew up during the action, with the loss of all the passengers and crew, except the lieutenant and forty men, who were rescued from death by the english sailors.

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## LETTER IV.

*Sequel of the History of Europe, to the Naval Engagement of Trafalgar.*

THE attack upon the Spanish fleet can only be vindicated on the plea of expediency or of policy: it cannot be justified by any arguments drawn from reason or from equity. The British court boasted of its *exemplary moderation*; but this aggression was no proof of the justice of such self-commendation. So little injury had been received from Spain since the renewal of hostilities with France, that no serious vengeance was due to that power. If the Spaniards had acted openly in support of the French, it was lawful to treat them as enemies: but the mere injury which might result from the transfer of a part of their treasure to France, was not to be compared with the depreciation which the moral character of Great Britain might suffer from the outrage. These observations will be derided by the loose morality of a statesman: but his ridicule

will not be so efficacious as to subject them, in the opinion of more reasonable men, to the imputation of harshness or inapplicability.

The hostile declaration, on the part of the king of Spain, did not immediately follow the seizure of his ships. He seemed desirous of waiting for farther acts of hostility; and he then denounced war in a spirited and indignant manifesto.<sup>1</sup> As Great Britain had apparently invited the challenge, it was readily accepted, and boldly answered; yet not without the expression of an eager wish for the resumption of a "state of peace and confidence with a nation which had so many ties of common interest" to connect it with this country. The conduct which led to this extension of the war was strongly reprobated by lord Grenville, Mr. Grey, and other senators. It was defended by the king's advocate on the ground of precedent; but the learned civilian ought to have known, that no precedents could sanction injustice. Both houses voted in favour of the war, by a great superiority of number. Seamen and marines, to the amount of 120,000, were allowed; the land force were so far augmented, as to exceed 135,000 men; and the act of the preceding year for an additional force was suffered to remain unrepealed, although it was warmly assailed as an ineffective measure. The supplies of the year were elevated to an extraordinary amount: they exceeded fifty-five millions and a half. The French, on the contrary, reduced their expenditure, which they said, would not exceed 684 millions of francs<sup>2</sup>; but no dependence could be placed on the accuracy of their financial schemes or statements.

An investigation of the official delinquency of the viscount Melville gave unusual interest to the parliamentary session. The trial of a minister of state, before the highest court in the realm, necessarily attracts general attention, in a country that prides itself on the freedom of its constitution, and which consequently feels the violent agitations of party; and the deliberations of the national representatives, preparatory to impeachment, are proportionally interesting. In one of the reports resulting from a commission of naval enquiry, it appeared that lord Melville had either withdrawn from the bank of England, for the purposes of private emolument, different sums assigned to him as treasurer of the navy, or had suffered such misapplication to be practised by public officers, for whose integrity he was responsible. The keen eye of Mr. Whitbread having

1 On the 12th of December, 1804.

2 About twenty-eight millions and a half, in pounds sterling.

discovered this flaw in the character of a veteran minister, he thought it his duty to submit the affair to strict investigation, with a view to the infliction of punishment or censure. April 8. The commissioners, he said, had examined his lordship and Mr. Trotter, his agent and paymaster; but no satisfactory explanation of the pecuniary deficiencies in their department could be procured. It was well known that the latter had speculated largely in the funds, and had amply profited by this species of adventure, as well as by other modes of pecuniary accumulation; and, as he was poor at the commencement of his official career, it was more than probable that he had employed the public money in his speculations. Even if his lordship had not shared the spoil, his connivance at the unjustifiable conduct of his friend rendered him liable to impeachment. Mr. Pitt did not wish to encourage the violation of acts of Parliament, or the misapplication of the national treasure; but he contended for the occasional expediency of transferring money from one service to another, and denied that the report authorised the suspicion of actual loss or detriment. Lord Henry Petty said, that, if no loss had been sustained, great risk of loss had been incurred; and that the evasion of fair inquiry, during an examination, justified the interference of the house. Mr. Fox affirmed, that the public lost considerably upon the discount of the navy bills, in consequence of the temporary embezzlement; and, as the viscount had confessed that he had suffered the paymaster to derive benefit from the use of the public money, a regard to justice required his prosecution. The opinion of Mr. Wilberforce favored a judicial process, for which, he said, the voice of the people and the honor of the house loudly called. When the question was put to the usual test, an equality of number appeared on each side; and the speaker's vote, being thus rendered necessary, was given in support of the charge.<sup>3</sup>

The leaders of opposition were not unacquainted with the want of harmony in the cabinet, or with the difficulty which the declining influence of Mr. Pitt found in enforcing complete obedience to his mandates: but they had no expectation of obtaining the sanction of a majority of votes for this bold attack. The public exulted in the idea of bringing an unworthy minister to justice; and, however inclined was the premier to retain his associate in the public service, he would not refrain from advising the resignation of his seat at the board of admi-

3. In such cases, it is generally expected that the speaker of the house should gratify the people, rather than the court, by his decision.



rality, as Mr. Whitbread threatened him with the proposal of an address for his immediate dismissal. It was found difficult to procure a successor whose appointment would give general satisfaction: but, when several friends of the court had declined the honor and the responsibility, lord Barham accepted the vacant presidency. Not satisfied with the alleged resignation, Mr. Whitbread moved, that the king should be requested, by an address, to remove lord Melville from all offices holden during pleasure, and from his councils and presence for ever. As this motion was warmly resisted, he consented to wave it, if the vote of inculcation should be communicated to his majesty by the whole house. The royal answer was respectful but vague; and the name of the viscount was not erased from the council-book, before the reluctance of his majesty had been noticed in the house with surprise and disgust.

When an intended motion of impeachment was announced, lord Melville requested permission to defend himself; but his denial of all participation in the unlawful profits of Mr. Trotter did not induce the majority of the commons to desist from the prosecution. After some debates respecting the mode of process, he was impeached, before the house of lords, of high crimes and misdemeanors: but the trial was postponed to another session.

In the progress of this measure a contest connected with religion occurred, to animate the zeal of party, and divide the sentiments even of true patriots. The catholics of Ireland, or rather their opulent and titled leaders, loudly complained of their exclusion from corporations, from high offices, and from a seat in parliament; and it was resolved, at a meeting of these sectaries, that a petition should be presented to each house, for the extinction of those "incapacities, restraints, and privations, which affected them with peculiar severity in almost every station of life," and for the abolition of the "humiliating and ignominious system of exclusion, reproach, and suspicion," which some unrepealed statutes generated and kept alive. Boasting of their regard for the best constitution that had ever been established, they prayed that they might be restored to such a full enjoyment of its benefits, as might animate them to an enthusiastic defence of the government. In one house, lord Grenville was their principal advocate; in the other assembly, Mr. Fox took the lead in the recommendation of their claims. It was argued in their favour, that a difference of religious sentiments ought not to be considered as a bar to the possession of civil rights; that all citizens had equal preten-

sions to the honors and emoluments of the state, unless it should be clearly proved, that their known and avowed opinions were incompatible with the spirit of the constitution and the security of the protestant establishment; that not only the peremptory declarations, but the solemn oaths of the catholics, removed or allayed the apprehensions of danger in these respects; and that their comparative weakness, with reference to the whole population of the United Kingdom, operated also against protestant fears. It was farther remarked, that, if they could not be safely trusted with power, too much had already been conceded to them: but that, as the danger was either entirely visionary, or too trifling to justify alarm, all their claims might reasonably be granted, so as, by the promotion of concord, to consolidate the strength of the empire. On the other hand, it was alleged, that every state had a lawful power of confining its offices and its favors to those who were most interested in its support; that even if toleration might be claimed as a right, political power stood on a different ground; that, in an establishment to which protestantism was so essential that even the sovereign was not allowed to profess any other faith, the admission of the enemies of that religion into high employments, or into the legislative body, would be a manifest solecism and a palpable inconsistency; that the refusal of the catholics to acknowledge the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, and their recognition of a foreign jurisdiction (which, however they might pretend to confine it to spiritual affairs, could not be prevented, among the zealots, from encroaching on civil concerns), rendered the desired acquiescence impolitic and hazardous; that their zeal of proselytism would increase with the means of exercising it; and that the nation might gradually lose its predominant character. Mr. Pitt was, in his heart, friendly to the object of the petition; but, as a very powerful obstacle seemed to preclude success, and, as the greater part of the nation appeared to be disinclined to the measure, he opposed the motion for its reference to a committee. In the house of peers, the proposal was rejected by a plurality of 129 votes; and, among the commons, the unfavorable excess amounted to 212. The result of these debates did not surprise the catholic associates; but they trusted to perseverance for final success.

The majority of those senators who, from motives of liberality, were disposed to relieve the professors of the Romish religion, were equally ready to put an end to that traffic which invaded the civil rights of the Africans; but the renewed exer-

tions of the opposers of this unjustifiable species of commerce were baffled, in a thin house, by mercantile influence: yet the closeness of the contest<sup>4</sup> gave hopes, that another trial of strength would disappoint, the zeal of self-interest and rapacity. For the honor of the parliament and the nation, the abolition of the slave trade ought to have been voted, as soon as it was proposed, by a simultaneous burst of acclamation.

While the proceedings against lord Melville occupied the attention of the parliament, a session of the Batavian legislature, consequent on the new constitution adopted by that republic, commenced. It was alleged, as a reason for an alteration of the political code, that the fabric of the state seemed to be tottering, and that wisdom and vigor were necessary for its support. By the new plan, the supreme power was vested in the pensionary and an assembly of nineteen deputies, nominated by the administrative authorities of the eight departments. The pensionary was to be elected for five years by these representatives of the nation; but the first who might be chosen would be allowed to retain his post to the expiration of five years after the conclusion of peace with Great Britain. He was authorised to constitute a council of state, and to appoint all the ministers and political officers, and all the judges, except those of the national tribunal. He was to be the sole proposer of laws, which were to be approved or rejected, without the smallest alteration, by the legislative assembly. All acts of government were to be brought forward in the name of *their high mightinesses*, as the deputies according to the old style were called; but the pensionary was invested with the highest authority of the state, in political, civil, and ecclesiastical affairs, and indeed in every object that was connected with the ordinary and regular administration of the country. He was not, however, allowed to declare war without a previous resolution of the deputies, to whom also the confirmation of treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, exclusively appertained. They were to have two sessions in a year, beside such extraordinary convocations as he might be disposed to order. One third of the number would be annually required to resign their situations to others, unless the departments should deem them worthy of re-election. The members were not bound to comply with the instructions of their constituents. as it was concluded that only men of sense and patriots would be chosen, or perhaps because it was supposed that a reference to the opinions of the electors would give a popular bias to the

4. The advocates of the trade by a majority of seven votes.

government; yet from the inconsiderable number of the electors, there was little fear of that preponderance. Upon the whole, the new code tended to establish an oligarchy, unfavorably to the just claims of the people; and it did not preclude the disgraceful subserviency of the republic to the will of the despot of France. The pensionary Schimmelpenninck was an admirer of Napoleon; and, when he proposed to the new assembly the adoption of such a plan as might render taxation more regular and proportional, and the introduction of other schemes of reform, he congratulated the members on the influence which that great man had acquired over their nation, and boasted of the promised aid of his illustrious patron.

Far from being inclined to negotiate with the French government, the British minister exerted all his influence, during the session, for the promotion of a new confederacy against the domineering nation. Mr. Fox warned him of the danger of a partial league, which might eventually increase the power of France, by affording an easy triumph to the arms of Napoleon; but the premier misrepresented and ridiculed the seasonable caution, as if his opponent had said, that no concert whatever ought to be formed, because there was a possibility of its being more injurious than beneficial; and he eagerly prosecuted his object, accompanying his persuasions with the offer of such subsidies as might enable the princes to put their respective armies in motion. His strong representations of the danger of a tame acquiescence in the aggrandisement of Bonaparte, induced the emperor of Russia to give his assent to a preliminary agreement, by which he bound himself to assist in the formation of a general league, calculated to stem the torrent of French ambition, and to establish a firm barrier April 11. against future encroachments upon the independence and the rights of other nations. The Austrian potentate did not so readily listen to the proposals of Great-Britain; but his reluctance to a new war at length yielded to his indignation and alarm at the renewal of usurpatory injustice in Italy.

The easy acquisition of the imperial diadem of France, instead of satisfying the ambition of Napoleon, prompted him, after a display of modest forbearance for the short term of a year, to aim at the augmentation of his dignity and power in Italy. The title of president of a republic was less imposing and magnificent than the style of royalty; and a pretence for the change was found without difficulty in the expediency of strengthening, at a time when a storm seemed to threaten the political horizon of Europe, that government which was too

weak for preservation and durability. At the request of the constituted authorities of the Italian republic, Napoleon consented to become King of Italy; assuming, for *a part* of that country, a general appellation which implied an intention of embracing the first opportunity of seizing *the whole*. He repaired in pompous procession from the palace to the cathedral of Milan, and amidst a revival of the ancient ceremonies, he took the iron crown from the altar, and placed it upon his head, denouncing vengeance against all who should attempt to wrest from him what God had given to him. A new constitution, calculated to suit the change of government, was prepared for the realm. Bonaparte and his counsellors were so accustomed to the fabrication of new codes, that, in their hands, the task was short and easy. May 26.

As I have, in a former letter, given the outlines of four constitutions emanating from the French school, it will not be necessary to state the particulars of the code now assigned to the kingdom of Italy. It was granted as an indulgence to the cherished republic of the hero of Lodi, to whom it still left high power and commanding influence.

As that kingdom, while its sovereign was also emperor of France, resembled a province more than an independent realm, Bonaparte condescended to gratify the national pride, in his compact with the people, by agreeing to the separation of the crowns in the event of his death, and insisting upon the residence of his successors within the limits of the realm; and, that his absence might be the less severely felt, he nominated a viceroy in the person of Beauharnois (son of his wife Josephine) whose courage and talents, he said, would enable him to defend the state, and establish its prosperity. It was sufficient for him, however, if the exertions of his representative would secure its dependence upon the French empire.

The indignation felt by Austria and Great Britain at this conduct did not equal that which was excited by the treatment of the Ligurian Republic. By a recent treaty, the doge had engaged to afford maritime aid to the French during the war; but, as this was an imperfect advantage, Bonaparte had recourse to that incorporation which, he hoped, would elevate his authority over the Genoese beyond all controul. The over-awed doge, and the inferior authorities, surrendered their power; and the territories of the republic were annexed to the great empire. June 4.

Before the emperor of Russia would enter into a war with France, he resolved to try the effect of negotiation, and sent



the baron of Novosiltzoff to propose terms of accommodation ; but, when the envoy had only reached Berlin, he was recalled by his sovereign, in consequence of the seizure of Genoa. The Austrian Ambassador at Paris also complained of that arbitrary act ; but expressed an earnest wish for the amicable adjustment of all disputes. In replying to this intimation, Talleyrand acrimoniously animadverted on the conduct of Russia and Great Britain, while he endeavored to cajole Austria into forbearance and neutrality. In a subsequent note he assumed a less moderate tone toward the court of Vienna, demanding a speedy reduction of its army, and requiring that a determination of strict neutrality should be announced with a view of extinguishing the hopes of a formidable coalition, entertained by the British monarch. Encouraged by the offer of Alexander to enter upon a regular negotiation, if the ruler of France would assent to it, and at the same time to send two armies to the Danube, for the enforcement of just demands, Francis made another application to the tyrant of France for a due observance of the peace of Luneville, and referring to the French preparations in Italy, declared his intention of taking arms for his own security and the maintenance of that treaty ; adding, that he was still ready to treat, in concert with Russia, and to accept those terms which a sincere desire of peace would induce a just and moderate prince to offer. To repel the effect of an address from the French minister at Ratisbon to the Imperial Diet, complaining of the hostile attitude of Austria, he repeated his wish for peace, and affirmed that France did not feel the same desire, as that state of affairs could not be called peace, in which one great power alone kept up its armies, and proceeded without opposition in the career of tyranny, insulting and oppressing inoffensive states, whose independence ought to remain inviolate. He also asserted, that several princes of the frontier circles had been instigated by the French to take arms against him ; but he trusted that the greater part of the Germanic body would be convinced of the dangerous tendency of such unwarrantable proceedings.

Having acceded to the alliance proposed by Great Britain, when all prospect of obtaining reasonable terms from Napoleon had vanished, Francis ordered his troops to enter Bavaria. The subserviency of the elector to France had remained unchanged since the settlement of the indemnities. He knew that the observance of neutrality was impracticable between

such haughty rivals as France and Austria; and, as he dreaded the vengeance of the Corsican more than the resentment of the German potentate, he made preparations for joining the expected invaders of the empire. He amused the prince of Schwartzemberg with a promise of military co-operation; but, on the approach of the Austrian army, he quitted his capital, and his troops retired into Franconia. In a manifesto which he issued from Wurtzburg, he reprobated the arbitrary conduct of Francis, and declared that, to avoid a compliance with the dishonorable terms upon which that prince insisted, particularly with the alternative of such an incorporation of his troops as would merge and absorb them in the Austrian force, or their total disbandment, he had accepted the offered protection of Napoleon, upon whose friendship he could safely depend.

Pleased at the intelligence which the fugitive elector transmitted to France, Bonaparte stated to the senate the outrageous aggression of the Austrian emperor, who, still pretending to wish for peace, and to lament the delay of negotiation, had driven one of the allies of France from the seat of his government, and meditated farther hostilities. His own inclination for peace, he said, must now give way to a vindication of the insulted honor of the French empire. If the new coalition should not be crushed, an ignominious peace would be enforced, and the glory of the great nation would be eclipsed: but so strong was his confidence in the zeal and courage of his military subjects, that he looked forward to the most triumphant success.

While these seeds of animosity were germinating into a new war, that which already existed was prosecuted at sea with reciprocal zeal, and on the part of Great Britain, with remarkable and signal success. As soon as it was discovered that a squadron under Ville-Neuve had found an opportunity of sailing from the harbour of Toulon, an alertness of search testified the eagerness of the British seamen to overtake or meet the bold commander: but sir John Orde had not a sufficient force off Cadiz to prevent a junction between the French and Spanish fleets, which then proceeded to the West Indies. Lord Nelson directed his course to the same part of the world; but, not finding the enemy in the western hemisphere, he returned to the coast of Spain with unexampled rapidity.

The report of Nelson's voyage produced a return of the combined fleet to Europe; and, when it appeared in the direction of Ferrol, sir Robert Calder, with a force greatly inferior,

brought it to action, and captured two ships of the line.<sup>5</sup> Being soon after considerably reinforced, the enemy sailed to Cadiz, where an imperfect blockade was maintained for a time by Calder and Collingwood. On the recall of the former, Nelson was invested with the chief naval command from the bay of Cadiz to the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean, and indulged with an extraordinary latitude of discretionary power. He now earnestly wished to encourage the egress of the hostile fleet, which being tempted by its magnitude to defy the English, appeared at the distance of four or five leagues from Cape Trafalgar. It consisted of eighteen French, and fifteen Spanish ships of the line, seven frigates, and eight corvettes. In the disposition of the vessels, no regard to national distinction appeared: all might have been supposed to belong to the same government. To oppose this great force, lord Nelson had only twenty-seven sail of the line,—a disparity which would have appalled a Byng, but which only animated the hero of the Nile to a renewed display of skill and courage. He confidently hoped to destroy or capture a great part of the armament: yet he was apprehensive, that, by the favor of the wind, an escape to Cadiz might be attempted with success.

Nothing could more highly please him than the apparent determination of the enemy to give him an opportunity of contest. The adverse line exhibited an aspect of novelty: it formed “a crescent, convexing to leeward.” A new mode of attack was also adopted by the British admiral. To avoid the delay which would have attended the usual arrangements, and to preclude the necessity of a multiplicity of signals, he ordered the fleet to advance in two columns, his own ship the *Victory* heading the van, and the *Royal Sovereign*<sup>6</sup> conducting the rear. It was his wish, indeed, that the captain of each vessel should get into close action as soon as possible, without regard to technical regularity. Some of the officers hinted the expediency of securing his valuable life by remaining in the rear: but he rejected the advice without hesitation, and assigned, as his reason, the force of example.<sup>7</sup> He even displayed on his

<sup>5</sup> Being blamed for not renewing the engagement, sir Robert requested that his conduct might be investigated by a court-martial; and the result was, recorded declaration, that he “had not done his utmost to take and destroy every ship of the enemy.” For this neglect, however, he was only reprimanded.

<sup>6</sup> Lord Collingwood's flag ship.

<sup>7</sup> “And probably he was right,” says captain Blackwood; yet there is little doubt, that the natural courage of the seamen, and the spirit which he had infused into the service, would have insured a brilliant victory, even if their commander, content with giving preliminary directions, had abstained from a personal share in the engagement.

dress a profusion of badges of honour, by which, on the momentary dispersion of the smoke, he could be discerned and marked out for vengeance. When the ships were advancing, he gave as a signal, these memorable words: "England expects that every man will do his duty;"—an interesting appeal which was received with loud acclamations. He then said to a friend, "I can do no more. We must trust to the Great Disposer of all events, and to the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty."

Oct. 21. Boldly pressing forward, the admiral was saluted by a furious discharge from the Bucentaur, the particular ship of Ville-Neuve. Three other effusions followed before he returned the fire; and a broadside was then given, which made dreadful havock in the crowded ship<sup>8</sup>; and it was so injured by farther attacks, that its flag ceased to be hoisted. The Redoubtable was then exposed to all the vigour of Nelson, and it was soon reduced to a dangerous state: but, as many riflemen poured volleys of musketry from the tops, the admiral received in his left shoulder a bullet, which passing through the spine, lodged in the muscles of his back. He instantly fell, and the wound being examined, was found to be incapable of cure. In the mean time, the battle raged with horrible carnage; and after a conflict of three hours, the enemys' line gave way. So close was the fight, that a British vessel was boarded by the crew of two ships at the same time: but the intruders were driven out, and the ensigns of the allied nations were torn down with indignation. Ten ships had surrendered before the admiral expired; and thus the lustre of victory cheered him in his last moments. One of the captured vessels took fire through the mismanagement of some of the crew, and exploded with destructive effect; but about 200 of the men were saved by the active humanity of the conquerors. Gravina, the Spanish admiral fled toward Cadiz with ten ships, and four others, after a short renewal of action, also retired.<sup>9</sup>

The wind, which was moderate during the engagement, increased soon after to a gale, so as to involve the victorious fleet in great danger. Among the last words of lord Nelson, were repeated orders to bring the ships to anchor; but, when a signal was made for that purpose, it could not be completely obeyed. The fleet, however, passed the night without serious

8. The French and Spanish ships of war are always more crowded than British vessels; and, on this occasion, 4000 soldiers were dispersed in the combined fleet.

9. London Gazette Extraordinary of Nov. 6.—Life of Lord Nelson, by Clarke and Mac Arthur.

injury. The next morning attempts were made to secure the supposed prizes; and many were towed off to the westward: but the violence of the wind rendered this service so extremely difficult, that lord Collingwood resolved to destroy all those which could not be brought off. Having cleared the Santissima Trinidad of her men, some officers achieved the task of sinking the largest ship that any fleet in the world could exhibit. The Redoubtable foundered while in tow: one was forcibly sunken: another was burned; and some were wrecked, with the loss of almost all the men who had escaped from the murderous havoc of the battle. Four prizes reached Gibraltar: fifteen were destroyed or lost; and of the fourteen which retreated, six were wrecked, and four, in the ensuing month, were captured, after a very spirited resistance, by sir Richard Strachan.

It was impossible to obtain so signal a victory without very severe loss. According to the official statement, 423 of our seamen and marines lost their lives in the action; and 1164 were wounded. The greatest number of deaths occurred in the Royal Sovereign and the Temeraire; while the Colossus had many more wounded than any other ship. Of the enemy's loss, no accurate or probable account has been given: but it must have very far exceeded that which the conquerors sustained.<sup>10</sup> The French rear-admiral Magon fell in the action, and vice-admiral Alava died of his wounds: the most distinguished prisoners were Ville-Neuve and the Spanish rear-admiral Cisneros.

The admiral's death was lamented as a national calamity. It threw a gloom over the joy of victory, and damped the rising spirit of exultation. But, amidst the general grief, it was some consolation to reflect, that, if no commander equal to him in every respect survived, many gallant, skilful, and experienced naval officers remained, to uphold the fame of Great Britain, and prevent a revival of the maritime power of the enemy.

No man ever entertained a stronger predilection for the naval service than lord Nelson. It was the object of his early choice, and the boast of his mature age. He was not qualified by courage alone to adorn his profession, but by sagacity, judgment, and discrimination. Vigor without wanton impe-

10. It is stated as a certainty, in the Annual Register, that 584 men were killed or wounded in the Bucentaur by the terrific discharge from the Victory; but this assertion seems incredible.

A general thanksgiving was ordered for the victory; and a magnificent public funeral, in the cathedral of St. Paul, was decreed in honor of the hero, to whose memory a monument was also voted by the parliament.



tuosity, and decision without rashness, marked his conduct. He was of opinion, that the strongest measures were the best: but he did not enforce them before he had discovered, with intuitive quickness, the most seasonable conjuncture for their accomplishment. Vanity and prejudice are imputed to him: and that he was not altogether free from those failings, his best friends are disposed to admit. He was, however, a warm friend to real merit, and frequently opposed the ministerial practice of promoting less worthy or capable men from interest or partiality. Under the most prodigal of all ministers, he was economical in the disposal of the public money assigned to his department, yet not so parsimonious as to injure the service.

## LETTER V.

*Sequel of European History, including a new Continental War.*

A D. 1805. ALL the pride and arrogance of the tyrant of France, and his exalted opinion of his authority and influence, could not conceal from his view the important truth, that his power at sea was far from being commensurate with that which he exercised by land. By the imposing efficacy of a numerous and servile army, he could dictate his will to princes and states formerly independent; while in the other species of power, he was so obviously deficient, that it required extraordinary courage even to prevent a fleet from rotting in his harbours. The severe blow which the late splendid victory inflicted upon his navy, was not calculated to prompt him to a renewal of maritime audacity; and it contributed, more than any other incident of the war, to the removal of that dread of invasion which had diffused a gloom over the minds of a considerable portion of the British community. It was Napoleon's intention to employ the Spanish fleet, in concert with all the ships which he might find an opportunity of sending forth, for the execution of his repeated menaces; but the acute mind and vigorous arm of Nelson paralysed the naval strength of the boastful potentate, and dissolved in air the visions which had flattered his fancy.

He consoled himself for this misfortune with the prospect

of defeating the principal Austrian army, before the Russians should have an opportunity of co-operation. He treated with contempt the hostilities of the king of Sweden, who had concluded a treaty of confederacy with Alexander, and who, in consideration of a subsidy payable by Great Britain, engaged to strengthen the garrison of Stralsund, and to send 12,000 men into the field.

The pompous boasts of Gustavus, who seemed to consider himself as the Agamemnon of the confederacy, were by no means realised. By one of the articles of his treaty with the Russian emperor, he was to act as commander of the army which that prince had engaged to send into Germany; and he declared that he would immediately invade the territories of the Batavian republic, with a view of effecting a counter-revolution. He also directed his attention to the recovery and protection of the Hanoverian dominions, thus anticipating the supposed views of the king of Prussia; of whose intentions, with regard to the new coalition, he demanded an explicit statement. Alexander, who was then at Berlin, had prevailed upon Frederick William to promise, that he would enter into the confederacy; and as the delivery of the letter from Gustavus was not deemed necessary, he dissuaded the envoy from presenting it. This interference so offended the king, that he renounced the command of the Russian troops, and would not permit any part of his own army to advance from Pomerania. A delay of action was the consequence of this frivolous dispute: and in the mean time, the French were prosecuting a career of success.

The French army, in six divisions, amounting to 140,000 men, advanced to the Rhine, and found an easy entrance into Germany. Bernadotte, Marmont, Davoust, Soult, Ney, and Lasnes, were the generals to whom Napoleon had committed, under his own eye, the conduct of the war. He passed the Rhine at Kehl, while the troops were moving towards the Danube. Instead of passing by an expected *route*, the two first divisions, reinforced by a Bavarian army, violated the neutrality of Prussia, by marching through the Franconian territories subject to Frederick. Remonstrances were made against this insult; but they were answered by scornful defiance; and the invaders having passed the Danube, menaced the rear of the Austrians.

An injudicious choice of a general betrayed the weakness of the imperial cabinet. Notwithstanding the repugnance of the archduke Charles to the appointment of Mack, that officer

was elevated to the chief command of the army in Germany. He was boastful, and apparently bold in the cabinet; but his courage did not rise to the height or dignity of resolution: he had no acuteness of discernment or comprehension of mind; his military skill was very imperfect; and he was more fit to receive orders than qualified for command. Deluded by feigned movements, he fancied that the French intended to penetrate through the Black Forest, and directed his whole attention to the defence of Suabia.

The advance of Soult to Donawert, and of Murat to the Lech, produced partial conflicts, favorable to the French; who, proceeding to Wertingen, defeated a strong detachment, and captured the greater part. Augsburg and Ingoldstadt were seized by different divisions: and Ney encountering the archduke Ferdinand at Guntzburg, stormed the post, and made considerable havock among its defenders.

General Mack, in the mean time, occupied an entrenched position between Ulm and Memmingen. A part of his army, being attacked by Ney's advanced guard near the former town, fought with a spirit which repelled the enemy, who suffered severely on the occasion; but the arrival of a reinforcement, rescued the assailants from ruin.

The conduct of Mack was so extraordinary, as to be attributed to corruption and treachery. Advancing beyond the reach of Russian aid, he had brought the army into a situation of great danger, and neglected all the means of extrication; or, if he gave any directions which seemed just or reasonable, the opportunity of execution was suffered to elapse. The activity and vigilance of the French enabled them to profit by his hesitation and want of skill. Soult appeared with his division, and by encompassing Memmingen, prevented the meditated escape of the garrison. The governor capitulated, and nine battalions became prisoners of war. A more important attempt was the investment of the army, now concentrated in Ulm and its vicinity. On the approach of the French, a battle ensued near Elchingen: it was so vigorously contested, that great loss was sustained on both sides. The enemy at length prevailed by superiority of number, and seized the disputed post; and other advantages were obtained, over folly and indecision, by judgment and vigor.

Unwilling to share the expected fate of the army at Ulm, Ferdinand resolved to attempt an escape. Two divisions had been already sent away in the direction of Bohemia; but they did not effect their retreat without a very great diminution of

their force. In a stormy night the archduke retired with a body of cavalry, and eluded the vigilance of Murat: while general Mack, in the hope of relief, remained at his post, without even endeavoring to take advantage of the temporary confusion which a dreadful hurricane and an overflow of the Danube had produced among the invaders, whose communications were greatly impeded by the destruction of the bridges. The menace of a general assault subdued the spirit of resistance. In an interview with the prince of Lichtenstein, the brutal Corsican declared, that, if he should take the place by storm, the defenders could not expect to be saved from massacre: this he said, was one of the melancholy rights of war—an admitted practice, which the garrison of Jaffa had felt in all its rigor. Terrified by this denunciation, Mack promised to capitulate, if the arrival of an Austrian or Russian army should not by the eighth day put an end to the blockade. Oct. 17. A convention was signed to that effect; but Bonaparte was so unwilling to submit with patience to this delay, that he persuaded the imbecile general to give up the post, and surrender the army on the third day, upon an assurance from Berthier, that, in consequence of the interceptive arrangements of the French, no relief could be afforded within the specified time.

This disgraceful capitulation consigned about 20,000 men to captivity. When they filed off before their conqueror, he addressed the chief officers with an affectation of politeness, but without the air or the manners of a gentleman. He lamented that their master should have precipitated himself into an unjust war, of which he could not conceive the object. "I do not know (said he) for what I am fighting, or what is required of me." He then hinted at the danger of a persistence in the war; affirming, that he could quickly procure an addition of 200,000 volunteers to his army, who would become as good soldiers in six weeks, as Austrian recruits, who served by compulsion, would be in several years. He therefore advised his imperial brother to make peace without delay. "All states, (he added) must have an end; and the emperor may have cause to fear the extinction of the dynasty of Lorraine. Yet I do not wish to profit by his ruin: I desire no more acquisitions upon the continent: I want ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is apparently as much your interest, as it is mine, that I should have them.<sup>1</sup> On the day which followed the expression of this wish, his hopes were annihilated by the splendid victory of lord Nelson.

<sup>1</sup> Ninth bulletin of the French army.

It was alleged by the fugitive monarch, that his regard for his faithful subjects of Vienna, and his desire of freeing them from the extreme miseries of war, induced him to relinquish all thoughts of defending their city. The cause of his country, he hoped, would be more decisively maintained in the field. A deputation of the inhabitants, on the arrival of Murat at St. Polten, courted the forbearance and indulgence of the enemy, and received from him a promise of protection. When the French were ready to enter the city, the prince of Auersberg, having retreated over the river with a small force, Nov. 13. was preparing to destroy the bridge; but Murat, who wished for an easy passage into Moravia, remonstrated against the execution of such an unnecessary order, pretending that preliminaries of peace had been signed between the contending powers. The prince unwilling to suppose, that an officer of high rank would be guilty of a deliberate falsehood, immediately desisted, and retired with the troops.

The Russians, not secured by the river from attack, were harassed in their retreat by Mortier; but, becoming the assailants in their turn, they nearly surrounded the inferior force of the marshal. A great number of the French were slain, and 2000 were captured: the rest escaped to the vessels which had been collected at Weiskirchen. The Russians then marched to the northward, in expectation of a considerable accession of force, while Napoleon domineered in the Austrian metropolis.

For the defence of the emperor's Italian dominions, the archduke Charles, who might have acted more beneficially in Germany, was placed at the head of a respectable army. He was opposed by Massena, who endeavored to force a passage over the Adige at Verona. While the French distracted the attention of their adversaries by false attacks, they passed by the aid of planks over a broken bridge, and assaulted the works in the northern suburb. After a severe and mutual loss, they dislodged the Austrians; but not being so completely successful as they wished, they repassed the river. On a renewal of their efforts, they obtained greater advantages, which, however, were dearly purchased.

While the intelligence of the surrender of Ulm encouraged the zeal and activity of Massena, his opponent was induced to prepare for a retreat from Italy; that he might save Vienna from danger. The marshal impetuously attacked the whole line near Caldiero; and, though he met with a vigorous resistance, he broke the hostile ranks, and surrounding a de-



tached column, compelled it to capitulate, thus adding above 4000 prisoners to the number secured in other parts of the field. When the French had quitted this scene of action, the archduke, unobserved, retreated from his post; and he had marched for nine hours, before Massena was informed of his movements. An eager pursuit commenced, and the marshal overtook him near the Tagliamento. In the way to Laubach, several partial actions occurred, without the infliction of great mischief upon the retiring army:—so ably was the archduke's march conducted, in the face of alert enemies, who considerably outnumbered his foes.

The Tirol, at the same time, was not free from the rage of hostility. Penetrating into the rude recesses of the country, Ney advanced to Scharnitz, and took the post at the third assault. He then marched to Innspruck, of which he easily obtained possession. Other advantages attended the progress of the enemy; and the archduke John, apprehensive of the encompassment of his feeble army, sought an opportunity of unmolested retreat. Stationed on the Brenner mountain, he withstood repeated attacks, and compelled the aggressors to respect the courage of his troops. He at length decamped, bending his course to the province of Carniola; and, by judgment and vigilance, he prevented his pursuers from narrassing him with decisive effect. The prince de Rohan was less fortunate; for, when he had passed the mountainous barriers of the Tirol, and had nearly reached Castel-Franco, he was drawn into an engagement by the approach of general Regnier; and, being also outflanked by St. Cyr, he capitulated with above 5000 men.

In Moravia, the allies were not suffered to remain unmolested. The Russian general Kutusoff, with a view of gaining time for defensive preparations, deluded Murat by a pretended agreement for an armistice: but Bonaparte refused to ratify it; and a battle ensued, which terminated in favour of the French. Prince Bagration was afterwards attacked by a force which was sufficiently large to surround him; but he cut his way through the opposing ranks with the most resolute intrepidity, his corps suffering much less injury than might have been expected. Brunn was taken without a siege, while the confederates were hastening to Olmutz; and, the farther they retreated, the more intent were the French upon a prosecution of their advantages.

An appearance of negotiation did not delay the preparations of the rival powers for a general engagement. Each seemed

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An appearance of negotiation did not delay the preparations of the rival powers for a general engagement. Each seemed

to be aware, that nothing but a trial of strength would decide the contest. When the presence of Alexander in the camp was reported, Napoleon sent one of his principal officers to compliment that potentate, as if peace prevailed between them, and to take every opportunity of artful and interested observation. As he proposed a conference, prince Dolgorucki was sent as the emperor's representative; and, as the most presumptuous confidence was said to reign among the Russian officers, the French studiously encouraged the extravagant hopes of the enemy, by pretended fear and affected caution. The prince intimated, that the allied sovereigns would not agree to a pacification, if Bonaparte should refuse to cede the Netherlands, and to resign the crown of Italy.

The confederate troops, particularly the Russians, were not in a state which seemed calculated to insure victory, unless their feeble condition should inflame their courage by despair. Fatigue, hunger, and illness, had debilitated their physical powers; and the misfortunes of the campaign had depressed their spirits. Their number cannot be ascertained: but probably it did not exceed 75,000; and, of this force, the Russians composed the far greater part. The French army surpassed that calculation; and a confidence in the talents and good fortune of Napoleon had indisputably an animating effect. When a battle was expected, he issued an *order of the day*, for the purpose of farther encouragement. Our positions, (he said,) are formidable. I will myself direct the operations of all the battalions, having my station at a distance, if your efforts should disorder the enemy's ranks, and being equally ready to rush into the midst of danger, if the event should be doubtful: yet victory cannot long be uncertain, as the honour of the French infantry will be interested in securing it." With the brutality of a military barbarian, he added, "Let not your ranks be thinned, under the pretence of carrying off your wounded comrades; and let each be convinced of the necessity of conquering the hirelings of England. The approaching victory will finish our campaign; and, when new armies shall have joined us, I will conclude such a pacification, as will be worthy of my people, of you, and myself."

Following the old practice of extending the line, in the hope of turning the enemy, Kutusoff stretched the troops over a space of ten miles; an imprudent disposition, which enfeebled their exertions against a force skilfully concentrated. He divided the army into five columns, beside the advanced divisions of Kienmayer and prince Bagration, the central body,

and the *corps de reserve*, commanded by the grand duke Constantine. Bonaparte, foreseeing an attempt to turn his right, detached Davoust with a strong body in that direction; and he drew up the bulk of his force in three divisions, which he respectively placed under the orders of Bernadotte, Soult, and Lasnes; while he remained with an ample reserve, aided by the counsels of Berthier, Oudinot and Duroc.

Imperfectly acquainted with the position of the French, Kutusoff fondly trusted to the success of his scheme of outflanking the right; a *manœuvre* which, he hoped, would enable him to make a decisive impression upon the centre. From the heights of Pratzen, the first column advanced, preceded by Kienmayer, who was directed to assault the village of Telnitz, which he forced after repeated attempts. Dec. 2.

He then passed the defile, and reached the plain of Turas. The second and third columns marched to Sokolnitz, and seized the post; but they did not fully co-operate with the first. Bonaparte resolved to profit by the distance of the left from the centre, which still remained upon the heights; and a vigorous attack, in which Bernadotte brought forward almost twice the number of the assailed division, menaced the allies with serious danger. While the three columns were wandering without knowing to what point their operations tended, the general summoned a part of the fourth to his aid; and, when the advanced guard, being quickly overpowered, had abandoned its post, other succours were anxiously ordered. At the same time, the right of the confederates bravely contended with the division of Lasnes and the cavalry of Murat; and the grand duke, and the prince of Lichtenstein, distinguished themselves in this part of the field: but the former, in the pursuit of some retiring squadrons, exposed the Russian guards to the most alarming peril, from which they did not escape without severe loss. His imperial brother, who acted with the fourth column, displayed all the coolness of manly courage, and strenuously labored to remedy the disorder of the centre: but he could not prevent the enemy from seizing the disputed heights. Even an impetuous assault with the bayonet did not check the advance of the compact columns, whose volleys of musquetry made great havock. The right division being so far separated from the rest of the army, and so weakened by fierce attacks, as to be unable to co-operate with effect, the harrassed centre commenced a retreat, but not with confusion or precipitancy. Bewildered in the search of the French right, the third column found itself surrounded; and 6000 men, to avoid destruction,



prudently submitted to the disgrace of captivity. The first and second, diminished by assaults and by partial dispersion, retreated in disorder to Aujest; but they were not secured by this position; for the division of Vandamme rushed upon the village, and captured 4000 men, of whose associates a multitude escaped, while a considerable number<sup>2</sup> perished in a neighboring lake, which being frozen only in a slight degree, yielded to the weight of the unfortunate fugitives. The retreat now became general; and it was ably protected by the Austrian cavalry, amidst a furious cannonade.

We have no correct statement of the loss sustained by either army in this memorable conflict. In the short account published officially at Petersburg, it was affirmed, that, from the opening of the campaign, there was not a deficiency of more than 17,000 men. This calculation is apparently much too low. It is probable, that 15,000 of the allies were made prisoners, and that not a less number than 10,000 were killed, drowned or wounded. The French pretended, that the amount of those who suffered in their army, did not exceed 2500; but they might more truly, perhaps, have trebled the estimate.

The allied emperors retired beyond Austerlitz, a village which had formed their head-quarters before the battle. The fortitude of Alexander was unshaken, and he would readily have continued the war; but Francis was so confounded at the disasters of the campaign, that he resolved to sue for peace. He ordered the prince of Lichtenstein to propose an armistice; and, when it had been adjusted, the vanquished and depressed potentate held a conference in the open air with the exulting victor, whose indulgence he courted by submission. It was stipulated, in the convention, that the Russians should quit Moravia within fifteen days, and Austrian Poland before the lapse of a month; and their sovereign, without expressly joining in the truce, acquiesced in this arrangement.

During these transactions, the king of Prussia, by irresolution and delay, lost an opportunity of action, which he would gladly have recalled. When the unpermitted march of the French through the territory of Anspach had roused his indignation, he ordered the baron von Hardenberg to address a note of complaint to marshal Duroc, and to declare, that he considered himself as released by such conduct from all prior obligations, imposed by the formality of treaties; but that he would still evince an habitual regard to the dictates of substantial jus-

2. But certainly not 20,000 men, as the writer of the thirtieth bulletin has most absurdly and falsely asserted.

tice. His only wish, he added, was to see Europe in the enjoyment of that peace, in which he endeavored and hoped to maintain his own subjects; but, his views being obstructed, he found himself reduced to the necessity of ordering his armies to occupy such positions, as might enable him to protect his dominions, and provide against hazardous contingencies. The bustle of military parade now enlivened the people; and it was supposed, that the persuasions of the British and Russian courts would produce that complete effect which was earnestly wished by all the enemies of France. But the king had been so long inactive, that it required extraordinary exertion to shake off the enervating influence of passive neutrality. When he pronounced a vow of eternal friendship to the emperor Alexander at the tomb of the great Frederick, he seemed to have brought his mind to that degree of energy which the allied courts hailed as a decisive symptom of political convalescence: but the appearance of vigor yielded to a return of languor and inertness; and a jealousy of the Austrian power, habitually entertained by the house of Brandenburg, may be thought to have exercised its paralysing influence. Count Haugwitz, whose counsels were neutral and pacific, rather than bold and warlike, was sent to offer his master's mediation for such a peace as might restore the balance of European power, and secure the independence of the different states. He found Napoleon in possession of Vienna; and, while he ostensibly negotiated, the armistice was signed. The king had previously adjusted, at Potsdam, a convention with Alexander, binding himself to a concurrence in the confederacy, if the terms which he should propose as a mediator, should not be accepted; and, having requested pecuniary aid from Great Britain, he had received the promise of a considerable subsidy. But the count was easily persuaded to agree to a secret treaty, by Dec. 15. which, in consideration of the exclusive possession of Hanover, until a future peace should decide the fate of that electorate, his master was bound to resign the dutchy of Cleves and other territories, and to confirm such arrangements as might be stipulated in the ensuing treaty between France and Austria. Thus, a prince, who might have turned the scale against Napoleon,<sup>3</sup> meanly consented to be subservient to the base usurper, and permitted him to reduce the head of the empire to a state of comparative weakness.

3. According to the declarations of his Britannic Majesty, Prussia had an army of 250,000 men, in the best disposition; a force which, if employed with energy, might have "given repose to Europe."

The archduke Charles, who during the negotiation for a definitive treaty, arrived from Italy with a respectable army,—and Ferdinand, who defeated the Bavarian general Wrede on the borders of Bohemia,—would gladly have co-operated with the Russians in a renewal of hostilities, if Francis had not persisted in his pacific determination: but this prince was so intent upon an accommodation, that he commissioned the prince of Lichtenstein and the count de Guylai to settle the terms with Talleyrand. By the treaty, which was

Dec. 25. concluded at Presburg, he was obliged to relinquish that valuable share of the territorial spoils of Venice which he had for some years enjoyed: he agreed to the arbitrary arrangements respecting the principalities of Lucca and Piombino<sup>4</sup>; and acknowledged Napoleon, or his nominated successor, as king of Italy, with a proviso that this crown should speedily and permanently be separated from that of France. He also consented to the cession of the margraviate of Burgaw, the principality of Eichstadt, the county of Tirol, and other considerable districts, in favor of the elector (whom he considered as king) of Bavaria. To the elector of Wirtemberg, whose claim to the royal title he likewise admitted, he resigned a part of the Brisgaw, with other portions of territory; while the elector of Baden was gratified with the rest of the Brisgaw, the Ortenaw, and the city of Constance. The two kings were farther gratified with the permission of seizing, respectively, the city and dependencies of Augsburg, and the county of Borna-dorff: but, in return for the various grants, the king of Bavaria was required to surrender Wurtzburg, as the basis of an electorate, to the archduke Ferdinand, who engaged to resign Saltzburg to his imperial majesty.

To a prince, who, though not enterprisingly ambitious, was fond of extended dominion, the defalcations ordained by this treaty, must have given great disgust, even if no sense of humiliation and disgrace had attended the loss; and, when he reflected on that indiscretion which had not only precipitated the war, but had misconducted it in its progress, and on the loss or the decline of that high fame which his troops had formerly enjoyed, his feelings must have been wounded with aggravated poignancy. He severely blamed himself for yielding to the impulse of Great Britain, and for admitting too readily the delusions of hope.

The departure of the invaders filled the Austrians with joy.

4. These territories were wrested from Tuscany, and given to Bonaparte's sister Eliza, and her husband Baccicchi.

During the armistice, indeed, the troops did not behave with their usual arrogance; but their presence necessarily disgusted the people; and, in addition to the pecuniary demands and public requisitions, private acts of rapine were not infrequent. Bonaparte kept his court at the palace of Schoenbrun, and rarely showed himself to the citizens of Vienna, pretending that he was influenced by a sense of delicacy, which would not suffer him to remind them personally of his triumph, or to encroach upon their feelings of regard and esteem for their sovereign, with whom he wished to cultivate the relations of peace and amity. In his way to the Rhine, he stopped at Munich and Stuttgart, the capitals of the two states which he had recently erected into kingdoms. At the former city, he celebrated the marriage of Eugene Beauharnois with a Bavarian princess, who did not presume to object to this transfer of her hand from the prince of Baden, her acknowledged and more deserving lover.

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### LETTER VI.

#### *A Survey of Politics and War, to the rupture between France and Prussia.*

POLITICAL life was the sphere in which Mr. Pitt was formed to move. Cold and stern in his demeanor, arbitrary and unbending in his disposition, and little affected by the mild sympathies and feelings of ordinary life, he devoted his whole soul to the pursuits of ambition, or to the supposed interest of the state. He even injured his health by his anxious attention to those objects. His nerves at length became so weak, that he was incapacitated for the task of government. He had an hereditary gout, which, indeed, did not so violently torture or harass him as to produce frequent confinement, but, which, operating on a debilitated frame, ultimately contributed to the production of water in the chest. While he was in a state of depression, the late success of the French arms, and the abortion of his elevated hopes, gave him a severe shock. He reflected, with all the bitterness of disappointment, on the ruin of his schemes, and dreaded a decline of the power and prosperity of his country. His regret perhaps, hastened his death:

but, in the alarming progress of his indisposition, even the joy of triumph would not have long extended the duration of his life. He died in the forty-seventh year of his age, leaving the political world greatly divided on the subject of his ministerial merits. None disputed his claim to the character of an able and masterly orator: but, while many regarded him as the skilful pilot who had weathered that storm which was excited by revolutionary phrensy, others loudly blamed him for rushing into a war before it was necessary, and reprobated his encouragement of those partial and precipitate coalitions, which rather fanned than allayed the fury of the tempest.

The parliament had re-assembled before the minister's death; and, in the speech with which the session was opened, the prosecution of the war was declared to be necessary for the security of Great Britain and the continent. It was admitted, that the misfortunes which had befallen the Austrian emperor, and his retreat from the contest, were injurious to the common cause: yet, despondence, it was said, ought not to be entertained, as the zeal of the Russian potentate continued in full fervor, and as the resources of the British dominions were unexhausted. To the address of each house, an uncourtly amendment would have been offered by earl Cowper and lord Henry Petty, if the lamented illness of the premier had not induced those senators to sacrifice their public feelings to private delicacy.

An early opportunity of testifying public respect for the deceased minister, was taken by his parliamentary friends, one of whom proposed, that his remains should be interred in the abbey of Westminster, and that a monument should be erected to the honor of "so excellent a statesman." This motion was strongly resisted by Mr. Windham, who, while he acknowledged the talents and virtues of Mr. Pitt, did not consider him as entitled to a gratuitous funeral or monument, because such honors were only due to the most able and fortunate statesmen. Mr. Fox referred to the services of the late earl of Chatham, and contrasted them with those of his son. The memory of the father, he said, was embalmed by national gratitude, because he had aggrandised his country, and reduced the power of France; but a contrary effect had attended the rash measures of his son, whose eloquence was ill employed in concealing the deformity of that pernicious system of government, which had characterised a great part of the present reign. Mr. Wilberforce did not regard success as the cer-



tain criterion of merit, or as the only ground on which it ought to be honored or rewarded; and, therefore, even if the administration of his esteemed friend had been far less successful than it really was, he would readily agree to the proposal. A majority of 169 sanctioned the posthumous compliment; and the house, not content with this demonstration of respect, voted 40,000 pounds toward the liquidation of the debts of the prodigal minister.

The official vacancy would have been immediately supplied by lord Hawkesbury, who seemed to have an hereditary influence at court, if he had not declined the offered dignity. He has manifested as strong an inclination for power and office, as Mr. Pelham and his brother evinced in the preceding reign: but, on this occasion, when a strong cabinet was particularly desirable, he exhibited a modest consciousness of his want of energy and influence. His disinterestedness was not equally apparent; for, as if his services had not been sufficiently remunerated, he accepted the lucrative post of warden of the cinque-ports, which the defunct minister had enjoyed.

Failing in his application to the secretary, the king reluctantly solicited the return of lord Grenville into the cabinet, and even suffered him to include Mr. Fox in the new arrangement. His lordship assumed the direction of the treasury, and selected lord Henry Petty for the chancellorship of the exchequer: the three new secretaries of state were Mr. Fox, earl Spencer, and Mr. Windham: earl Fitzwilliam became President of the council; Mr. Erskine received the great seal, with a peerage; lord Sidmouth was declared keeper of the privy seal; Mr. Grey was placed at the head of the board of admiralty; and to the earl of Moira the mastership of the ordnance was given. The chief-justice Ellenborough, without a strict regard to the spirit of the constitution, was also introduced into the cabinet. Mr. Sheridan was not forgotten in the distribution of inferior offices; for he was appointed treasurer of the navy.

This union of talent, although it was not so comprehensive as to include the abilities of Mr. Pitt's friends, apparently afforded the promise of vigorous measures, and of a judicious direction of all the powers of government. To say, that the expectations were visionary, and that the prospect was delusive, may seem to betray a want of candour: but it is not unreasonable or unjust to affirm, that the administrative superiority of the new to the old cabinet was not very strongly marked.

The mode of improving the state of the army occupied the

early attention of the new ministers; and after long consultation, it was agreed, that the service should not be extended by compulsion beyond seven years; that all who might wish to serve for a second septennial term, should receive a small addition to their pay; and, that by other arrangements, the military occupation should, if possible, be rendered so attractive, as not to require the temptation of a *premium* for enlistment.

This scheme was brought forward by Mr. Windham, who coupled with it a proposition for the loose training of the popular mass, with a view to a speedy entrance into so desirable a service. Lord Castlereagh contended that it was imprudent to unsettle the minds of men in the army, in the midst of a dangerous war; and that the new scheme did not promise to be effective or beneficial. It was also, he said, rendered unnecessary by that increase which the army had received on the existing plan; for in the last two years, the augmentation amounted to 49,800 men; and it was probable, that by the improved management of the act for an additional force, a further supply would soon be obtained. The bill for the repeal of this act was warmly opposed in its progress by other friends of Mr. Pitt; but it passed by a great majority; and the new experiment was introduced, without being applied under the term of twenty-one years to the men who were already in the ranks.

The attempt of a young and inexperienced financier to elucidate the national accounts, and provide for the exigencies of the war, greatly interested the public curiosity. Lord Henry Petty acknowledged the utility of the sinking fund, and showed its progressive efficacy by stating, that the surplus of the consolidated fund, applicable to the gradual extinction of the national debt, then bore to the whole the proportion of one to sixty-eight, whereas, three years before, it was in the ratio of one to eighty-two. He commended the practice of raising a great part of the supplies within the year, accompanied with only a small loan; and said, that before the adoption of this expedient, the annual increase of the debt was above twenty-five millions, upon an average of ten years, ending in 1803; but, that, since that time, the yearly addition had scarcely exceeded twelve millions. He therefore proposed an augmentation of the assessed taxes, and of the customs and excise, and an extension of the impost upon property to a tenth part; and thus the required loan was confined to twenty millions; besides the issue of exchequer bills. The aggregate supply of the year amounted to 67,800,000 pounds. The exorbitancy of such a demand, needs no comment.

Willing to evince his zeal for official integrity, and for the prevention of fraud and embezzlement, his lordship brought forward two bills, one for expediting the adjustment of colonial accounts, the other for a more general settlement. He alarmed the public by affirming, that 534 millions, in different departments, remained *unaudited*, and that this amazing bulk of unexamined documents had long served as a shroud behind which the most shameful speculation might evade discovery, and, at the same time, hung like a gloomy cloud over the heads of upright servants of the state, who wished to be relieved from suspense and anxiety, by receiving a regular acknowledgement of the accuracy of their accounts. These observations wounded the feelings of Mr. Rose, who vindicated the honour and purity of the official dependants of the late administration, and maintained, that nine-tenths of the alleged sum, or a larger proportion, had been already scrutinised, so as not to require inspection from the commissioners of accounts.

From the liberal mind of Mr. Fox, the advocates for the abolition of the slave trade expected a strenuous effort in the cause which they had so long espoused. So powerful is the influence of prejudice, that it frequently perverts the minds, and vitiates the reasoning powers of those, who are otherwise acute and intelligent. Thus, an abominable traffic has found advocates and abettors even among men of acknowledged sense and general respectability, when it might naturally have been supposed, that none but the most unprincipled votaries of self-interest would have dared to utter a word in its defence.

The allegations in its favor are so futile and absurd, as not to deserve the name of argument. As human beings, the negroes are equal in natural rights to any of their oppressors, and have the same claim to justice and equity. The pretence of an anatomical difference in the cranium, as a proof of their intellectual inferiority to the generality of mankind, is an idle and wanton excuse for brutal tyranny; and it is scarcely more rational to argue, that they are in many instances saved from a greater degree of oppression in their own country, and even from death, by the seasonable interposition of foreign merchants and planters. The only motive by which these intruders are actuated, is self interest, which would have prompted them to trample upon the rights of the poor Africans, even if they were, in their own regions, the happiest and best governed of mankind.

The highest praise is due to Mr. Wilberforce for his zeal and perseverance in promoting the abolition of an evil which

was so incorporated with the commercial and colonial system that it was extremely difficult to effect its separation and removal. He has been ridiculed as a fanatic, and censured as a subverter of acquired rights: but his enthusiasm arose from a regard to justice, and the pretended rights were unjustifiable usurpations. The concurrence of the two rival statesmen, who rarely agreed on any political concern or object of public deliberation, may also be mentioned to their honour. In this great question, they gave full scope to the operations of reason and the suggestions of humanity, without suffering the intrusion of prejudice, or yielding to the bias of party. If Mr. Pitt had lived to see the accomplishment of his wish, it would have consoled him amidst the disappointment of his hopes of making a powerful and permanent impression upon France.

At the request of Mr. Wilberforce, the subject was proposed by Mr. Fox for a renewed deliberation; and it was declared by a majority of ninety-nine,<sup>1</sup> that the house conceiving the slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, would take effectual measures for its abolition. The peers concurred in the resolution; but it was not immediately carried into effect. Two bills of restriction were enacted: by one of which, all British subjects were prohibited from conveying slaves into the territories of any foreign power, or into any of the American islands or settlements which had been captured during the war, and no foreign slave-ships were allowed to be fitted out from British ports; while by the other statute, no vessels were permitted to sail to the African coast for the purpose of procuring negroes, unless they had been previously employed in the same branch of traffic. The former bill was strongly opposed, on commercial grounds, by the dukes of Clarence and Sussex, the lords Hawkesbury and Eldon; but the lords Grenville, Auckland and Ellenborough, supported it with greater ability and success.

During these discussions, the trial of lord Melville was conducted with great spirit on the part of the selected managers; but the result was not such as might have been expected from the preparatory votes of the house of Commons. On the first charge, which imputed to the viscount the illegal appropriation of 10,000 pounds only fifteen peers pronounced him guilty, while 120 declared their conviction of his innocence. The third article, stating, that he had permitted Trotter to apply large sums of the public money to the purposes of private emo-

1. By 114 against 15.

lument, was disallowed by a majority of thirty-one; and the investigation of the other charges also terminated in an acquittal. While the trial was in its progress, the Commons voted thanks to the managers; and the speaker of the house, in communicating that vote, did not seem to expect a favorable decision; for he said, "We have witnessed that unwearied industry and singular sagacity, with which you have pursued and *established the proofs*; and that powerful display of argument and learned eloquence, by which the *light of day*, has been spread over *dark, secret, and criminal transactions*."

The acquittal of the noble defendant did not seem perfectly satisfactory to the public; but as it was pronounced by an august and honorable tribunal, an acquiescence in the verdict was a point of prudence and of duty. Lord Grenville did not, in this case, give that opinion which would have been most agreeable to his new associates; for he was not even present at the decision: but his general share in the administration was concurrent with the views of Mr. Fox, who, in return, relaxed the rigour of his disapprobation of the war, which was prosecuted with an appearance of zeal.

In the earlier part of the session, intelligence arrived of a colonial conquest. As it was known, that the Cape of Good Hope was not in a very defensible state, a small fleet and army were sent for its reduction. When the armament approached the place of its destination, serious difficulties obstructed the descent. An attempt to disembark was baffled by the height of the surf; but, on another part of the shore, both that danger and an attack from sharp shooters advantageously posted, were defied by the advancing troops. The overturn of one of the boats occasioned the loss of a small party of soldiers, who were eager to be first on shore. About 4000 men at length effected a landing, and proceeded to the Blue Mountain, from which some light troops were quickly dislodged. Janssen, the Dutch commander, endeavored to turn the British right wing: but sir David Baird ordered such movements as frustrated that intention, and, chiefly by the exertions of a Highland brigade, enforced the retreat of the enemy, whose loss was considerably greater than that of the invaders. The advance of the victorious army intimidated the commandant of Cape Town into an abandonment of all thoughts of defence; and a capitulation was adjusted, by which the garrison became prisoners of war. A detachment then marched in quest of Janssen, who obtaining honorable terms, surrendered the colony and Jan. 18. all its dependencies.



The continuance of the war would naturally have suggested the idea of this expedition; but it had been particularly recommended to Mr. Pitt by sir Home Popham, who, being acquainted with Miranda, and having imbibed the zeal of that adventurer for making a forcible impression upon the Spanish colonies in South America, resolved that the conquest of the Cape should be a mere prelude to the seizure of some opulent towns on the Rio de la Plata. Before I state the result of this unauthorised employment of the national force, it will not be inexpedient to relate the most important incidents of a war which had arisen in the East, and which was brought to a close nearly at the time when the reduction of the Cape contributed so materially to the security of our Indian commerce and empire.

The British government not being deemed sufficiently strong or secure while Jeswunt Holkar possessed a high degree of power, the expediency of a new war suggested itself to the active mind of the marquis Wellesley, who seemed to consider all hostilities as justifiable, which tended to establish the authority of the company over the native princes. That chieftain had cautiously abstained from hostilities during the late war in India; but it was alleged, that he entertained unfriendly views, and had stimulated Scindiah to a renewal of opposition. It was also affirmed, that he was an usurper of the power which he enjoyed, being an illegitimate son of his predecessor; but the governor-general admitted, that this consideration did not authorise or prompt him to interfere; he only wished to counteract the hostile aims of the ambitious chieftain. Charges of rapacity and cruelty were afterwards adduced against him. He had levied tribute, said his accusers, in the territories of the company's allies, and had put to death three British officers in his service, on pretence of a treasonable correspondence. Finding himself an object of suspicion, he proposed an accommodation of all disputes, but as he demanded the cession of some districts, which, he said, formerly belonged to his family, his overtures were rejected with contempt; and he was desired to return within his own boundaries. He promised, that he would comply with this requisition, after his performance of a pilgrimage to Ajmir; but as he avowed an intention of seizing that town and its dependencies, over which the authority of Scindiah extended, it was resolved that an expedition should be undertaken without delay for his ruin or his humiliation.

His domains, like those of other Mahratta chieftains, were

not compact in point of situation, but were dispersed over Malwa and Candeish, and among the territories of the Nizam. General Wellesley was preparing to invade the Decan, when he was recalled to Calcutta by the governor general. His place was supplied by lieutenant colonel Wallace, who took Chandour and other fortresses. Lake, the commander in chief, marched in quest of Holkar, who, after a fruitless attack, of Dehli, advanced to the fort of Deeg, near which he formed a strong encampment. Major General Fraser, having stormed a village on the enemy's right flank, assaulted the whole line,<sup>2</sup> but was so severely wounded in the action, that he was obliged to resign the command to colonel Monson, who, not long before, had nearly witnessed the ruin of a detachment which he led from Guzerat, in consequence of the defection of a considerable corps of the natives. Extensive ranges of artillery were silenced and captured; and troops far exceeding the number of the assailants were totally routed. Beside the havock of the field, many were drowned in a pool which fronted the camp, and some, in the pursuit, were driven into the deep ditch that surrounded the fort. About 1750 perished on this occasion. Holkar did not take a personal share in the battle; but, four days afterward, he was met at the head of his cavalry by lord Lake near Ferruckabad, and defeated with great loss. Deeg was then assaulted with the most resolute intrepidity: and its well manned works were completely forced, the defenders falling in heaps at every point.

As the rajah of Bhurtpour had joined Holkar, that city was subjected to a siege: but so great was its strength, that it withstood every mode of attack for three months. An assault, which immediately followed the discovery of the first breach, was repelled, because the opening was imperfect: a second attempt was rendered abortive by the width and depth of the ditch; and two others were equally unsuccessful, and more murderous than the preceding.<sup>3</sup>

During the siege, major general Smith was detached with a strong body of horse to repress the incursions of a Patan chief<sup>4</sup> who had entered into the service of Holkar. After a series of rapid marches, he encountered the predatory leader; of whose

2. November 13, 1804.

3. Above 1800 Europeans and natives were killed or wounded in the third and fourth assaults.

4. This warrior is called *Ameer-Khan* in the official account; but this cannot be his proper name; for *amir* is the designation of a military commander, and *khan* is a prince.

force he destroyed a part, and dispersed the rest. He then rejoined lord Lake, who having twice endeavored to surprise the Mahratta chief, and driven him to a considerable distance from the besieged town, resolved to risk farther loss, rather than submit to the apparent disgrace of a protracted siege. To avert the dreaded danger, the rajah proposed peace, which he purchased by pecuniary grants and territorial cessions.

Holkar did not immediately follow the example of submission; and, in the mean time, he was gratified with the extinction of the power of the marquis Wellesley, who being justly blamed by the directors for an assumption of inordinate authority, an extraordinary prodigality of expenditure, and an aggressive spirit of ambition, resigned the supremacy of British India. The nobleman who had preceded him in that station, was also his successor; and he endeavored to restore peace, without compromising the dignity or the safety of the empire. Scindiah, as an ally of the company, had sent troops to serve in this war; but he was so discontented at the mode of executing some of the stipulations in the late treaty, that he detained the British resident as a hostage for the satisfaction which he demanded. A new treaty was concluded with this chieftain, more favorable to him than the former agreement; and, on this occasion, sir George Barlow followed the instructions which had been given by the marquis Cornwallis, who did not long survive his return to India. Holkar now procured better

Dec. 24. terms of peace than lord Wellesley would have granted to him. It was agreed, that he should renounce all pretensions to various districts situated to the northward of the Boondi hills, and also to every part of the province of Bundelcund; that the company should disclaim all concern with the ancient possessions of his family in Malwa, or with the territories of any of the rajahs, to the southward of the Chumboul, and should immediately give up some lands of that description in the Decan, and (at the expiration of eighteen months passed in amity and forbearance on the part of the contracting chieftain) restore Chandour and other districts now retained; and that he should never entertain in his service any British subjects or other Europeans, without the company's consent. By a subsequent convention, the Boondi possessions were given up to him; and his friendship seemed thus to be secured.

When peace had been restored to the East, the enterprising rapacity of sir Home Popham disturbed the tranquility of the West. Having procured a military force, both at the Cape and at St. Helena, to the amount of about 1600 men, he sailed

with major general Beresford to South America. Near the point of Quilmes, the troops disembarked without opposition, although their movements were watched by a body of cavalry,<sup>5</sup> posted on an eminence. A morass retarded the approach of the invaders; but their firmness of countenance intimidated the enemy, who fled as soon as they were saluted with a brisk discharge of musquetry. By destroying a bridge over the river Chuelo, which was not then fordable, the Spaniards and provincials hoped to baffle all attempts to cross the stream. Their efforts, however, were so feeble, as to excite the contempt of their adversaries, who, by the use of boats and rafts, easily reached the opposite bank, and, on their advance to Buenos Ayres, were met by an officer commissioned to adjust a capitulation. The major general cavalierly replied, that he had not time during his march to attend to the offered proposals; but he gave general assurances of protection and liberal treatment, and promised that he would agree to particular articles, as soon as he should have obtained possession of the city. No farther resistance being made, the troops entered the town on the following day. About 180 coasting vessels were June 28. seized as legitimate objects of capture; but they were restored to the proprietors, with a view of impressing upon the minds of the new subjects of Great Britain, a high idea of the national generosity. The treasures, exclusive of public stores and valuable merchandize, exceeded 1,290,000 dollars; of which sum a small part was readily given up, when it was claimed as private property.<sup>6</sup>

A conquest so easily achieved was insufficient to satisfy the projectors of the expedition, as it was concluded that other towns might be taken with equal facility. But before any other attempt was made, the disappointment of the citizens and provincials, who had entertained hopes of deriving freedom and independence from the aid and influence of the British arms, prompted them to devise the means of shaking off that yoke which the intruders wished to impose. In concert with the inhabitants of Colonia, they resolved to take arms; and a bold leader named Pueridon, advancing with 1500 men, hoped to retake the city by a *coup de main*. Being met by the major

5. The major general was informed, that this force consisted of 2000 men. Sir Home Popham may be supposed to have made use of a *multiplying* telescope, as he gravely says, "We had the satisfaction of seeing, from the ships, near four thousand Spanish cavalry flying in every direction."

6. London Gazette Extraordinary of September 13, 1806.

general, he was repelled with the loss of his artillery : but, when he had been joined by Liniers, an enterprising native of France, who had conducted a considerable force from the northern side of the river, he made preparations for a vigorous attack. The cannon, planted near the entrance of the town, made some impression upon the approaching army: yet defence was found impracticable, as the roofs of the houses were covered with assailants, who maintained an incessant fire. Even the castle was commanded; and all the positions were insecure against such a mass of enemies. A capitulation was thus enforced by the dread of ruin; and those who lately exulted in their success, submitted to the disgrace of captivity. The ministers, before they received intelligence of this misfortune, had sent an additional force to maintain the supposed conquest.

The British concerns in South America were far less interesting than the affairs of Europe, which during the administration of Mr. Fox and his friends, exhibited a perturbed aspect. The king of Prussia alleging that he could not depend upon the security of his own territories, while Hanover was involved in war, made preparations for the seizure or (as he termed it) protection of the electorate. He intimated, to the council of regency, that the few French who remained in the country, would be ordered to depart, and that the exclusive administration would be assumed by his delegated subjects, during the war between France and Great Britain. As he at the same time stated the necessity of the speedy retreat of the whole allied force, general Don, who had ostensibly supported the interest of the elector without any active service, returned with the German legion and other troops to England; the Russians commenced their homeward march; and the king of Sweden re-crossing the Elbe, undertook the protection of the duchy of Lauenburg.

When Bonaparte had secured the acquiescence of Frederic in the humiliation of Austria, and had returned in triumph to Paris, he disavowed that modification which rendered the occupancy of Hanover only provisional, and insisted upon that permanency of possession, and that completeness of appropriation which would provoke a rupture with the king of Great Britain; and to this requisition he added a peremptory demand of the exclusion of British vessels from all the Prussian ports. These acts of violence formed the basis of a new treaty, which count Haugwitz did not scruple to sign; and, as one of the articles provided for the immediate cession of the provinces which were to be exchanged for the electoral domi-



nions, the French took quiet possession of Cleves, of Anspach and Bayreuth; of Neuf-chatel and Valengin. The dutchy was transferred to Bonaparte's brother-in-law Murat, who was also declared grand duke of Berg: the Franconian territories were given to the king of Bavaria, and the two Swiss counties to marshal Berthier. Frederic now announced himself April 1. as the lawful possessor of the electorate, which he said, he had purchased by considerable cessions from that prince to whom it "belonged by right of conquest;" but this was a false pretence; for, before the Prussian seizure, the French had been constrained to abandon the whole, except the fortress of Hameln. The injured elector, in a spirited declaration, reprobated the injustice of the king and his base subserviency to those dictates, which an independent monarch ought to resist; and declared, that no advantage, arising from political arrangements, much less any offer of an indemnity or equivalent, should ever induce him to consent to the alienation of his German dominions. Gustavus was equally animated in his condemnation of these proceedings; but his efforts in defence of Lauenburg were feeble and contemptible. When his troops had been driven into the dutchy of Mecklenburg, he resented the expulsion as an act of open war, and immediately subjected all the Prussian vessels in his ports to an embargo, ordering also a blockade of the harbors of his new enemy.<sup>7</sup>

During the war with Austria, Bonaparte had withdrawn his troops from the kingdom of Naples, in consequence of a treaty of neutrality to which its sovereign had agreed. A British and Russian army, instead of disembarking on the Venetian coast, and co-operating with the archduke Charles, had landed at Naples; and, profiting by the favorable disposition of the court, met with a friendly reception, in defiance of the king's engagements with France. The queen being an Austrian princess, was inclined to favor the cause of the allies; and, without fully considering the consequences of her conduct, she was ready to indulge her animosity against the enemy of her imperial relative. But, on the part of the combined powers, the expedition had no definite object, unless they wished to involve the feeble Neapolitans in a war which they were incapable of conducting with efficiency, and which threatened to revolutionise their country. The admission of the troops operated as a signal for the departure of the French ambassador, who retired to Rome in disgust. Bonaparte received, with marks

7. British, Prussian, and Swedish Declarations.

of indignation, the intelligence of the expedition, and of the consequent military preparations of the court; and he arrogantly declared, that the Bourbon dynasty had ceased to reign at Naples. This was the style in which he usually pronounced a sentence of dethronement.

Before the arrival of the French troops, sent for the execution of this arbitrary menace, the allied force had re-embarked. The Russian envoy vindicated the retreat of his countrymen by alleging, that they had landed merely with a view of creating a diversion in favor of the Austrian army then contending in the north of Italy; and, when this step was no longer necessary, had restored Naples to a state of neutrality; hinting, that if the kingdom should be invaded, such an outrage would not be the mere effect of resentment at the appearance of the confederates within its boundaries, but the consequence of a previous determination, formed by the exorbitancy of ambition. While the Russians directed their course to the Ionian islands, the British armament sailed to Sicily. The former seemed to feel no interest in the fate of Naples; and, the latter, being aided only by the natives, had not sufficient strength to secure the kingdom.

Joseph Bonaparte, assisted by the advice of Massena and Regnier, made preparations for an expedition to Naples, which seemed to present an easy conquest. The people were not animated with that determined courage, which would persevere in resolute opposition; they had, indeed, a remaining sense of patriotism, and they hated the French, but they were ill armed and undisciplined, and were unsupported by the generality of the nobles, who were so disaffected to the government, that they were ready to submit with abject tameness to the invaders. The inhuman tyranny of the queen had excited universal odium; and the popularity of a weak prince, who suffered such a woman to govern him, could not be expected to remain at its former height. Sensible therefore of the inutility of resistance, the court retired to Palermo with all the portable wealth which it could secure.

Denouncing vengeance against the king and his advisers, for their violation of the late treaty, and at the same time promising protection to the people, Joseph advanced from Ferentino with an army which intimidated the Neapolitans. Capua was quickly surrendered, with Pescara, by a deputation from Naples; and the garrison of this city and the adjacent forts made no defence. Gratifying the popular superstition, Joseph, when he attended divine service, piously presented a diamond

necklace to St. Januarius: but he soon repaid himself for this gift, by a seizure of all the public property which the fugitive king had left.

An appearance of royal authority was yet maintained by Ferdinand's eldest son, who, entering the province from which he drew his title, summoned the Calabrians to arms. Many flocked to his standard; but the amount was not adequate either to his wishes or his exigencies. Regnier defeated both the regular troops and their associates at Campo-Tenese, and vigorously pursued the fugitives, yet without precluding the escape of the prince, who, with a considerable part of his army, passed over to Sicily. St. Cyr took Tarento and other towns; and the whole country seemed apparently subdued, except the strong town of Gaeta.

When Napoleon was informed of the success of this invasion, he bestowed the crown of Naples upon his brother, with a proviso, that he should resign it, if he should at any time become emperor of France. But all the authority of the new king was insufficient to prevent insurrections in some of the provinces; and, in many of the towns, the animosity of revenge stimulated the adherents of the expelled family to acts of outrage and assassination. These attacks produced retaliation; and the utmost vigilance of the police, though its arrangements were decidedly preferable to those of the late government, could not effectually repress these enormities.

The patriots in Calabria and Abruzzo gave great disturbance to the partisans of Joseph. They gained the advantage in several conflicts, and were not reduced to submission while the persevering defence of Gaeta kept a great force in full employment. The garrison of this town, neglected by the court of Palermo, hoped for effectual relief on the appearance of a British squadron in the bay. Sir Sidney Smith found an opportunity of communicating with the commandant, the prince of Hesse-Philipsthal, and of introducing supplies for the prolongation of that resistance, which he had so ably superintended. Leaving an officer to assist with the gun boats in the *sorties* of the garrison, the rear-admiral sailed to the bay of Naples, with a seeming intention of attacking the capital, in which he could discern illuminations expressive of public festivity: but as he had not the means of retaining the city, if he should reduce it, he was unwilling to expose it to the horrible mischiefs of naval hostility. He turned his attention to the island of Capri, and, having captured it, returned to Sicily to promote the views of the queen, who, finding him tinctured with a chi-

valorous spirit, gave him her whole confidence, and employed him in fanning the flames of occasional insurrection; a desultory species of service for which he was better adapted, than for the execution of comprehensive plans and momentous enterprises.

With a view of encouraging the Calabrian friends of the royal family, the queen and Sir Sidney requested sir John Stuart, who commanded the British troops on the Sicilian station, to undertake an expedition against the enemy. With the small force which he could employ, he did not expect to meet with an opportunity of performing any important service: but, being repeatedly urged to make the experiment, he transported his army to the continent. As few of the natives joined him, he would probably have re-embarked without delay, if he had not received information of the march of Regnier, to the vicinity of Maida, with 4300 men. Having about 4800 under his command, he hastened to meet the French general, whom he hoped to attack before the arrival of an expected reinforcement. In this respect he was disappointed; for the fresh troops reached the camp before the battle commenced, so as to swell the amount of the hostile force to 7000 men. Regnier had taken a position of such natural strength, that the difficulty of access would have precluded an effectual impression: but trusting to the superiority of his number, to the valor of his infantry, and to the operations of his cavalry (of which species of force he did not observe the least appearance in the British army,) he quitted his defensible station, crossed the Amato, and disposed

his troops on a spacious plain. Soon were the fronts July 4. engaged; and after a short firing, the right of the British line charged with the bayonet. The French seemed ready to retaliate this attack in the same mode: but they suddenly recoiled, and sought in flight that safety which all could not obtain. Many were slain; and the extreme left was totally routed. The rest of that division being vigorously assaulted, followed the example of retreat. A more spirited resistance was made by the right; and the cavalry having tried the effect of several impetuous charges, attempted to turn the left; but a regiment which had rapidly marched from the coast, seasonably took part in the action, and, flanking the equestrian assailants, compelled them to retire from the field. The infantry of the right then fled; and the victory was secured. Above 700 lost their lives; and prisoners, including the wounded, amounted to 1000; and many of the fugitives were afterward brought to the camp by the Calabrians. Only 327, according to the

official calculation, were killed or wounded in the victorious army.<sup>8</sup>

This victory tended to demonstrate the fallacy of the frequent declarations of the French, who, while they acknowledged the naval eminence and maritime superiority of Great Britain,<sup>9</sup> scornfully undervalued the merit of our soldiers. It appeared, from the conduct of the troops on the plain of Maida, that they were able, upon equal terms in point of position, and with the double disadvantage of a considerable inferiority of number, and a want of cavalry, not merely to repel, but totally to defeat their opponents. The prevailing opinion of French invincibility was shown to be the offspring of vanity on the part of the enemy, and of delusion and credulity among other nations.

Encouraged by this success, the Calabrians rose in numerous bodies, and harassed the French with incessant activity. The vindictive foe, considering these hostilities as acts of rebellion, murdered many of the natives, and burned some villages: but, by the efforts of the English and their associates, the troops of Joseph, reduced to a small number, were driven from the province. Having thus infused spirit into the Neapolitans, sir John Stuart returned to Sicily.

When the reduction of Gaeta, which was surrendered after a siege of five months by colonel Hotz, who succeeded the wounded prince of Hesse, had furnished 16,000 men for other services, Massena undertook an expedition into Calabria. The opposition which retarded his progress so inflamed his anger and ferocity, that he surpassed Regnier in acts of outrage and cruelty, pretending that he was merely executing justice upon rebels and *brigands*. In the mean time, sir Sidney Smith hovered upon the coast, landing troops and supplies where they seemed to be most urgently required, storming forts and

#### 8. London Gazette.

9. Among the naval exploits of the year, the following incidents are the most worthy of notice. Vice-admiral Duckworth, near the town of St. Domingo, engaged five French ships of the line, captured three of the number, and drove the others on shore, where they were completely wrecked. As he had seven sail of the line under his command, the victory was less honorable than if it had been obtained by an inferior force: but (in the words of the commander,) it was "effected in as short a period as our naval annals can produce;" and in the vessels which were taken, 760 men were killed or wounded, while not more than 338 suffered in the British squadron.—Three ships of the line, under sir Samuel Hood, afterwards encountered five large frigates, and, with very small loss, captured four, in which, from their crowded state, a dreadful havoc was made.—A squadron under Villamez, after eluding the vigilance of the English, sought safety in dispersion: but three of the vessels, being driven toward the American coast, were destroyed by their pursuers.



watch-towers, and obstructing in various modes the success of the French.

General Fox, who was promoted to the chief command, disgusted the Sicilian court by refusing to act upon the continent. He deemed it useless and wantonly mischievous to cherish hostilities which did not promise to be successful; and, being confirmed in this opinion by sir John Moore, whom he had sent to survey the state of affairs, he rejected every application for his active interference, and particularly opposed a meditated attempt upon Naples, the possession of which, said the minister Acton, if it could not be long retained, would gratify the king and queen with an opportunity of punishing those traitors, who had eagerly transferred their allegiance to the usurper. The arbitrary and vindictive princess would have employed the Sicilian troops in such an expedition, if she could have depended upon their exertions; but her want of confidence in them, and the refusal of British association, constrained her to relinquish the scheme.

The vigorous efforts of the French at length prevailed over all the courage of the Calabrians, who suffered severely in several conflicts: Abruzzo was also restored to tranquility; and the intrusive king flattered himself with the prospect of permanent sovereignty. He exercised his authority in the seizure of church lands, the suppression of some monastic foundations, the revocation of particular grants, the confiscation of the property of the emigrant adherents of Ferdinand, and the abolition of all remains of feudality.

While Napoleon was thus procuring, by influence and by arms, an Italian kingdom for one of his brothers, he also directed his view to the opposite shore of the Adriatic. The territory of Catarò, of which the late treaty with Austria promised the cession, was not demanded by the French within the time prescribed; and the emissaries of Russia, hoping to profit by this neglect, assured the inhabitants, who were not desirous of falling under the Gallic yoke, that they were at liberty to make choice of new masters or protectors. Being supported by a Russian squadron, and by a large body of Montenegrins, the people resolved to oppose Ghisilieri, the Austrian commissary, who considered it his duty to surrender the country to the French. When he arrived at the chief town for that purpose, he remonstrated against the mutinous spirit which prevailed; and the troops were ready to join in an attempt to quell this licentiousness: but he soon yielded to the wish of the insurgents, and consented to abandon the town and

its dependencies. As his conduct compromised the honour of the court of Vienna, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. For the disappointment to which the French were subjected on this occasion, the Ragusan territory seemed to offer a compensation; and it was therefore seized by general Lauriston, who quieted the inhabitants by declaring, that the French intended to restore the independence of the state, whenever the Russians should retire from Dalmatia, and from the Ionian islands, over which they exercised a controlling sway. Ragusa was now exposed to a blockade, and a subsequent siege; but it was so well defended by the garrison which Lauriston had introduced, and by the citizens, who detested the Montenegrin besiegers, that neither these barbarians, nor their northern associates, were able to reduce it. It was, however, involved in such danger by a furious bombardment, that the arrival of a reinforcement was necessary for its relief. General Molitor advanced with a competent force, stormed the positions of the confederates, and drove them respectively to their mountains and their ships.

If remote objects attracted the comprehensive eye of the French despot, those of nearer concern could not be expected to escape his attention. The constitution lately framed for the Batavian state, seemed, under a republican appearance, to be sufficiently monarchical to repress the spirit of freedom; but, as the name of a king had the most imposing effect, and as it was the wish of Bonaparte to procure princely establishments for all his brothers, he resolved to erect in Holland the standard of royalty. He knew, that the Dutch were so depressed and heart broken, as to be ready to submit with uncomplaining patience to any act of oppression, which, in the plenitude of his power, he might be disposed to order. Alleging that the constitution which he had granted to them did not appear to be so perfect as to preclude improvement, and that the disorders of the state required new modes of cure, he stated, to the leading men in Holland, his wish for the organization of a monarchy in their country. The consent of the most distinguished citizens, he said, would be sufficient for the accomplishment of this scheme: it was not necessary that it should be submitted to popular deliberation. Arrangements were made for this change with little difficulty. If remonstrances were offered, they were not urged with manly freedom; and it was agreed, in conferences between Talleyrand and some Dutch deputies, that the crown of Holland should be presented to Louis Bonaparte; that the *independence* of the state should

be *guaranteed*;<sup>10</sup> that all its possessions should be preserved, and the liberty of the people maintained. In a ceremonious audience, the deputies requested, as the most signal favor that could be accorded, the transfer of a king to their country, in the person of Louis, who, under the protection of the greatest of monarchs, might elevate Holland to its due rank among the nations, and restore its fame and prosperity. The grand pensionary Schimmelpenninck, declaring that his health was unsettled, resigned an appointment, which was "no longer beneficial to his countrymen, or to himself;" and the constable of France (for the favored personage retained that office) announced himself as king of Holland, "by the grace of God and the constitutional laws of the state." Thus the Dutch were reduced to the most degrading servitude under the professed slave of a despot.

By the constitutional code which accompanied this usurpation, the task of legislation was assigned, in concert with the king, to thirty-eight national representatives; and to raise the former number to this amount, the existing deputies were allowed to nominate two persons for each seat or vacancy, and two other candidates were to be proposed by each departmental assembly: out of these four, one was to be selected by his majesty. The term for which they were chosen, was extended to five years. All laws were to originate from the sovereign; and his power could not be effectually checked by the will of the deputies. It was ordained, that he should enjoy, without restriction, the complete exercise of the government, and of all the powers requisite for the execution of the laws; and the representatives formed his council of state, rather than a controlling assembly.

When the ministers had governed for some time in his name, amidst general tranquility, Louis presented himself to his subjects, and commenced his reign with plausible promises of good government. Being less unprincipled and inhuman than some of his brothers, he did not so much excite odium by his own tyranny, as by his subserviency to the oppressive mandates of his imperial patron. He seemed gradually to contract an attachment to the people whom he ruled, and to be desirous of tempering the rigors of stern authority. By this appearance of lenity, he displeased his brother, who very rarely unbent the bow of tyranny.

An usurper, who thus prospered in his enterprises beyond

10. The meaning annexed to this phrase was, that its *dependence* upon France should be fully *secured*.

all reasonable expectation, seemed to think himself destined for universal dominion. His courtiers were so overawed by the magnitude of his power, and so humbled by his arrogance, that they even compared him with the Deity. When Champagne, addressing the legislative body, spoke in high terms of the flourishing state of France, he seemed to attribute it, in every point, to the conduct of the emperor, rather than to the spirit of the people, and to consider that prince as an angel sent from heaven to bless mankind. Even amidst the toils and dangers of a distant war, his majesty, said the base adulator, entered into every detail connected with the internal administration of France, and attended to all the interests of his people, in the most minute particulars, with the same zeal with which he provided for the wants and comforts of his soldiers. He saw every thing, he knew every thing, like the great but invisible Being who governs the world, and who is only known by his power and his benevolence.

Notwithstanding these pompous boasts, it is well known that the government of Napoleon was tyrannical and oppressive. He did not, like Robespierre, consign multitudes to the guillotine, under the forms of law : but he deprived the people of the just freedom of speech and of action, over-awed and enslaved them by military terror, pillaged them without mercy, and sacrificed them by myriads to his insatiate ambition.

An opinion of the lightness of taxation in France under his sway, prevailed among the lower ranks in this country : but the idea was erroneous. It was not a natural supposition, that a tyrant, who disregarded the murmurs of the nation, and who had no feeling for human life, would abstain from that financial oppression, which, by the medium of a servile legislature, he could represent as absolutely necessary for the public service, and which, while he had a formidable army at his disposal, he could easily and promptly enforce. The taxes, indeed, were burthensome in themselves, and were collected with great rigor. An increasing land tax, and a variety of other imposts, diminished the comforts of the people, checked the progress of internal improvement, and propagated misery to a wide extent.

But, of all the enormities of Bonaparte's government, the military conscription was the most flagitious. It held the rod of terror over the bulk of the male population, from the age of twenty to that of twenty-five years, rendering young men liable to be called into the pretended service of their country, whenever a war was declared by the government to be just

and necessary. It was proposed by general Jourdan before the erection of the consulate; and being then sanctioned by the legislature, it became a favorite part of the usurper's system. He occasionally extended its provisions, and carried it into effect with merciless rigor. If an only son remained to assist and support his parents, he was cruelly compelled to join the ranks, and to render himself, in the field, an agent in rapine and murder; and, very frequently, a young husband was torn from the arms of his wife, for the same unjustifiable purposes. It was determined by lot, whether the conscripts should be in the class immediately required, or in the reserve; but both classes were occasionally called out; and even the supplies of a future year were sometimes anticipated. Substitutes were allowed: but the charges for this exchange of service were gradually swelled to a sum which few were able to pay without serious inconvenience. It may be supposed that many of the new soldiers were tempted to desert: of these the majority were substitutes, on whose disappearance the conscripts who had brought them forward, were obliged to find others, or to serve in person. Refractory individuals were either forced into the service by menaces of death, or declared unworthy of the military name, and sent in chains to different fortresses, to be employed in public works.<sup>11</sup>

The same spirit of military oppression prompted the tyrant to attempt a revival of the national guard. It was ordained by the senate, that the emperor should be authorised to call out all the males from twenty to sixty years of age, for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and the defence of the coasts and frontiers. He did not wish for a patriotic guard that would act in the cause of liberty, or sympathise with the general feelings; his only object was to strengthen and confirm his power and authority. In the execution of this scheme, he found greater difficulties than he apprehended. It was hinted to him that it might be unsafe to arm the people in the new departments, as they were not fully habituated to the French yoke: yet the measure was not relinquished; and attempts were made in some districts, but not with the desired success, to establish a mercenary guard, by exacting contributions from the inhabitants. In many of the departments, companies of reserve had been previously formed on a similar basis; and some of these were obliged to take the field in the war with the Austrians. Whenever the sovereign undertook a journey, he was attended

11. Faber's Sketches of the internal state of France.



by a guard of honour in the towns through which he passed; and this became, in several places, a permanent institution. His whole aim, indeed, was to render France a military nation, and to establish on that basis such a system of passive obedience, as might enable him to enjoy the undisputed pretensions and concurrent authority of a general and an emperor. But, while his martial zeal was unallayed, he pretended to lament the prevalence of war, and, with that hypocrisy which could deceive none but idiots, frequently expressed a wish for a durable peace.

As Mr. Fox, from the commencement of his opposition to the American war, had been the constant advocate of peace, it was concluded, that he would distinguish his administration by anxious efforts for procuring the return of that blessing. The overture, however came from France. A stranger, having procured admission into the minister's closet, offered his agency for the assassination of Napoleon. It is supposed, that he was an emissary of the French court, employed to sound the inclinations of the British cabinet on the subject of peace; but Mr. Fox treating him as a vile assassin, sent him out of the kingdom in disgrace, and communicated the circumstance to Talleyrand; who, in his master's name, thanked him for the disclosure, and, in a subsequent letter, stated the emperor's wish for a pacification. Readily adopting the hint, Mr. Fox replied, that his majesty was also desirous of a reconciliation, and that the proper basis of a negotiation would be a reciprocal recognition of the necessity or expediency of concluding such a peace as would be honorable for both nations and for their respective allies, and might at the same time tend to secure the future tranquility of Europe. Talleyrand not objecting to the basis, proposed, that plenipotentiaries should be sent to Lisle; but, when it was required, that the Russian potentate should be admitted as a party in the negotiation, he protested against this interference, which, he said, was unnecessary, because that prince had no concern in the existing war, and injurious, inasmuch as it would derogate from that equality with which the discussions ought to be prosecuted. Mr. Fox could not concur in these sentiments; but he admitted, that his majesty would be content, if he could "only act so, as not to incur the reproach of a breach of faith toward an ally who deserved his entire confidence."

It was evidently the wish of the ruler of France to excite jealousy and create a division between Great Britain and Russia, as a cordial union between those great powers presented

a formidable obstacle to his ambitious projects. In some conferences with lord Yarmouth, who, without being empowered to treat, was regarded as a confidential agent, Talleyrand eagerly opposed the inclusion of Russia in the treaty as a principal, while he intimated the willingness of his imperial master to recede from various points upon which he had lately been disposed to insist, and gave hopes of an admission of the basis of present possession, as applicable to his majesty's conquests. The agent was now invested with regular negotiatory powers; but, in the progress of discussion, he was convinced of the difficulty of fixing the evasive spirit of the French minister, or preventing an artful change of ground and position. Sicily was a particular object of contention. At one time, Bonaparte seemed willing to leave that island to its legitimate possessor: but he afterward declared it to be a necessary appendage to his brother's kingdom of Naples; condescending, however, to offer the Hanse-towns, Albania, and other territories, which he had no right to seize or to transfer, as a compensation to Ferdinand.

In the mean time, he made proposals of a separate peace to Russia; and general Clarke had frequent conferences for that purpose with M. d'Oubril, who was determined (as lord Yarmouth suspected) to "make a peace, good or bad, with, or without Great Britain;" and the result was a treaty, too favorable to the French, who were allowed to possess the Bocca di Cataro and many other districts in Dalmatia, and to encroach upon the independence of the Ionian islands, and were not debarred from the seizure of Sicily. Alexander alleging, that this agreement was contrary to the instructions which he had given, refused to ratify it; but, before it was disavowed, Napoleon, elate with the supposed adjustment of all disputes between France and Russia, insulted the British court by artifice and evasion, and, far from relinquishing the military intimidation of Germany, subverted the constitution of the July 12. empire by forming the confederacy of the Rhine.

This profligate attack upon the rights and interests of the Germanic body excited the indignation of Europe. For the ruin of a constitution, which was cemented by a course of ages, and regarded with habitual reverence, it was only necessary for this powerful usurper to give instructions to his agents, and issue his mandates to the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the elector of Baden, the landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, and other princes, who meanly consented to detach their states from the Germanic body, to renounce the laws of the empire,

and, after new and arbitrary dispositions of territory, to ally themselves, federatively and individually, with the emperor of France. The two kings were respectively bound to furnish 30,000 and 13,000 men, and the other confederates a smaller force, for any war in which the dictator might be disposed to engage.

Before this treaty was signed, Talleyrand declared, that the intended changes in Germany would be given up, if peace should be concluded with Great Britain; and Bonaparte seemed still to be so desirous of treating, that general Clarke was particularly authorised to confer with lord Yarmouth, with whom the earl of Lauderdale was associated as a plenipotentiary. As these negotiators found, that the principle of *uti possidetis* (in every point except the case of Hanover,) which had been seemingly settled as the foundation of a treaty, was disclaimed by the general,—and as the increasing demands of France were highly unreasonable and offensive,—a resolution of retiring from the scene of insult was adopted: but the desired passports were withholden, and Clarke and Champagne expressed a wish for a renewal of the conferences. The earl of Lauderdale continued to treat after the recall of his associate; and, when the disavowal of M. d'Oubril's convention was known at Paris, he was flattered with the hope of obtaining more favorable terms. That temporary suspension of treaty, to which the king had agreed when he supposed that his northern ally had concluded peace, now gave way to a closeness of concert; and the earl negotiated for both princes, on the supposition, that Alexander would not reject the terms which might be procured for him by a friendly court, well acquainted with his view and interests. Champagne now declared it to be the emperor's will, that Great Britain should retain Malta, the Cape of Good Hope, the French settlements in India, and Tobago; that Hanover should be restored to the elector; that Corfu should be ceded to Russia; and that in return for the surrender of Sicily to the new king of Naples, the Balearic islands should be yielded to Ferdinand. These proposals, even if the sincerity and good faith of the French court had been undoubted, would not have been deemed satisfactory, as no security was promised to Portugal, no compensation offered to the king of Sardinia, no sufficient indemnity granted to the king of Sicily, and no prospect afforded of the discontinuance of usurpatory injustice in Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy. His Britannic majesty therefore ordered his representative to return to England, and, in a spirited decla-

ration, stated the necessity of opposing, by vigorous hostilities, the injurious pretensions and despotic views of the enemy.<sup>12</sup>

During the negotiation, that minister who was most desirous of its success, felt the ominous approaches of severe indisposition. He could not be insensible of the decline of his strength and prevalence of morbid symptoms; but he mistook the nature of his disorder, and, deeming it scorbutic rather than hydropic, rashly ventured to prescribe for himself. By the advice of his friends, he at length condescended to accept medical aid: it proved wholly inefficacious; and he died

Aug. 13. in his fifty-eight year. A want of the vigour of health precluded that fullness of gratification which he would otherwise have derived from the enjoyment of political power; and probably, if he had lived, he would not long have retained it.

The acknowledged talents and comprehensive mind of Charles James Fox, raised him far above the ordinary class of men. At an early age he displayed strong sense and a sound understanding. He imbibed instruction with readiness and facility: he was fond of rational enquiry, and observant of the characters of men and the nature of things. His propensity to licentious pleasure, his habitual dissipation, did not preclude his attention to the improvement of his mind. His eloquence was bold, impassioned, and vehement; sometimes declamatory, occasionally argumentative: and, without the elegant correctness of Pitt, the luxuriant imagery of Burke, or the wit and pleasantry of Sheridan, it was generally interesting and impressive. To freedom of thought and of action, his politics were eminently favorable; and he was one of the few statesmen who have been friends of peace. His private and social character commanded the warm attachment of his friends; his manners were unaffected, and free from supercilious pride: he had a pleasing frankness and a liberal amenity of disposition.

It usually happens, that political orators, who are alternately in opposition and in power, forget, in one of these predicaments, what they have said in the other; and such instances of apostacy and want of principle are so common, as not to excite surprise. Mr. Fox was guilty of this deviation from strict honour and propriety. In his eagerness for ministerial pre-eminence, he did not scruple to coalesce with one whom he had loudly and repeatedly declared to be the most incom-

12. Official papers presented to both Houses of Parliament.

petent and pernicious of all ministers; and, when he had gained the object of his wish, he suffered the air of the court to relax the vigour of his patriotism. With regard to the tax upon income and property, his conduct was particularly objectionable. His great rival intended to raise that impost by *gradations* to its former unjustifiable and oppressive extent: but the new minister boldly overleaped the intervening space, and, without reflecting on his reiterated declarations of the predatory injustice of the former cabinet, at once demanded a tenth part, in addition to the numerous exactions which had long been very severely felt by the middle class of the community, and were yet endured with exemplary patience.

Mr. Grey<sup>13</sup> succeeded his friend as secretary of state; Mr. Thomas Grenville became first lord of the admiralty; and Mr. Tierney was placed at the head of the board of control for the affairs of India. As earl Fitzwilliam, without resigning his seat in the cabinet, was disposed to relinquish his official station, lord Sidmouth was appointed president of the council; and lord Holland, nephew of the deceased statesman, was gratified with the custody of the privy seal. It was insinuated by the opponents of the ministry, that lord Grenville repented of his connexion with the friends of Mr. Fox, and was willing to recall the chief partisans of Mr. Pitt into the cabinet: but this rumour was unsupported, as the harmony of the coalition appeared to be undisturbed. After these arrangements, the ministers, as if they apprehended a decline of their popularity, advised his majesty to dissolve the parliament, in the hope of increasing their preponderance in the house of commons, while they had the means of powerfully influencing the elections. Oct. 25.

After the death of Mr. Fox, the principles upon which he negotiated were still followed: yet Talleyrand insinuated, that the change in the cabinet had contributed to the frustration of the hopes of the friends of peace. Before the conferences were closed, the ministers, having reason to believe, that the Prussian monarch would soon rush into a war, sent lord Morpeth to assure him of the king's wish for a reconciliation, and to promise speedy support.

When Frederick William discovered, that the restoration of Hanover to its legitimate sovereign formed a part of the proposed treaty between France and Great Britain, he felt great indignation at the treachery of his pretended friend, by whom

13. Styled lord Howick on the elevation of his father to an earldom.



he had been encouraged to an unjustifiable act of ambitious rapacity: but, as he must have previously known the unprincipled character of the tyrant, to whom he so imprudently resigned his freedom of will, he had great reason to blame himself for his base subserviency. He keenly resented the indirect endeavors of Napoleon, to prevent the formation of such a confederacy in the north of Germany, as might counterbalance the association of the Rhine; and he suspected, not without reason, that the dictator, in his secret negotiations with Alexander, had proposed various arrangements unfriendly to the interests of Prussia. The seizure of three abbeys and their dependencies by Murat, and the annexation of Wesel to the French empire, were sources of disgust and topics of complaint: the continual encroachments on the liberties of Germany were viewed with anxiety and alarm; and even the less public concern of Palm<sup>14</sup> and Schoderer, who were shot by the military ruffians of France, for having circulated a supposed libel against the despot, had a considerable effect in rousing the indignation of Frederick and his subjects. Thus inflamed, and forcibly stimulated by the persuasions of his queen, who was distinguished by beauty, spirit, and talent, and by the suggestions of the baron von Hardenberg, he made preparations for vigorous hostility; and no war was ever more apparently popular than that which he then meditated. But count Haugwitz, who was generally despised, was still suffered to act as the chief minister; and, although he did not wholly neglect the organization of the means of hostility, he seemed incapable of giving an effective impulse to the general zeal.

While he was yet deliberating, the king ought to have been aware, that without powerful assistance, he had not a prospect of success in a contest with France: but he did not sufficiently attend to this very important consideration. General Knobelsdorff, who was sent to supercede the marquis Lucchesini, when the zeal of the latter in support of the Prussian interest had rendered him an object of suspicion at Paris, declared, in reply to a demand from Talleyrand of the reasons of military equipment and organization, that his sovereign acted in this respect without the least concert, and that the intelligence of his arming must have reached Paris, before it could be known to the courts which were supposed to have influenced him. As both envoys had remonstrated against the advance of troops to the Rhine, the French minister promised, that they should

be ordered to return, when the army already stationed in Germany should be no longer menaced; and he expressed his master's wish, that this singular misunderstanding, which had arisen, in the king's opinion, from sinister intrigues and false reports, might soon be cleared up. A letter, professing friendship had been previously addressed by Napoleon to Frederic; but the contrast which soon after appeared, in the form of an acrimonious libel,<sup>15</sup> was more indicative of his real sentiments and views.

During these reciprocations of policy, the king informed Alexander of the state of his affairs, and of the danger to which he was exposed; and he at length issued his manifesto, which was a long and elaborate composition. It exhibited a view of the ambitious manœuvres and aggressive conduct of Napoleon, who, when it was in his power, after the treaty of Amiens, to maintain and consolidate the general peace of Europe, and to provide effectually for the particular prosperity and happiness of France, did not display either the moderation of a wise and just ruler, or the magnanimity of a liberal prince, but commenced, against other nations, a course of violence and outrage. Admiring the talents of that fortunate general and able statesman, and remembering the occasional testimonies of regard, with which Prussia had been honored by the French government, the king (said the writer of this declaration) long abstained from that resolute interference, which a desire of preserving the balance of power seemed to prescribe, and rejected all applications for a discontinuance of neutrality. He wished for peace, and made great sacrifices to secure it to his subjects. Other courts were less patient, and were therefore involved in a new war, while by his constrained conduct respecting Hanover, he seemed to act an unfriendly part toward the allies, however disposed he was to remain in a state of neutrality. Convinced of the inutility of forbearance, he at length took arms, that he might mediate a peace with efficiency; but his persuasions and expostulations could not procure a desirable treaty. Against the confederation of the Rhine he loudly exclaimed, as an unprecedented act of despotism; and other acts of encroachment and usurpation he justly and strongly condemned. At length, a circle, which gradually became more narrow, was drawn around him by his artful enemy, who seemed to deny him even the natural right of moving within it. A continuance of injury and insult could not eternally be

15. In the *Publicist* of September 16.

endured; yet his majesty did not assume a military attitude, before he was convinced of Napoleon's intention of overwhelming him with war, or of reducing him to a state of abject vassalage. Being again requested to desist from his preparations, he required that the French troops should retire without delay from Germany; that the confederacy formed in its northern division might not be obstructed; and that the negotiation should commence with the restitution of particular territories, seized after the treaty of Vienna. He fixed a term for the decision of the grand question, whether peace should continue, or a war should be risked; and as the term elapsed before an answer was received, his preparations were prosecuted with redoubled spirit. Napoleon's reply was given at the point of the bayonet. By desisting from his offensive and dangerous encroachments, and acting like a prince, who united good sense with integrity, he might have secured peace with all the princes and states of Europe; but he was happy only when he could find employment for the *brigands*, whom he called his companions in arms.

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## LETTER VII.

### *History of the new War upon the Continent.*

A. D. 1806. THE awakened zeal of the Prussian monarch out-ran his prudence and discretion. He trusted to the greatness of his military force, and to the seeming eagerness of the soldiers for a collision with the French: but he did not sufficiently reflect on the gigantic power of the prince who wished to enslave him, or on the superiority of the modern *mancuvres* to the tactics of the old school. He did not wait for the establishment of a regular concert with the Russian emperor, nor did he adjust with any other powerful prince the means of combined hostility.

Before the Prussian declaration appeared, the disturber of Europe had crossed the Rhine with his usual alacrity; and

from Bamberg he despatched a letter to the senate, affecting to lament the folly and rashness of a well meaning and upright prince, who had been impelled to war by mischievous counsels, and declaring without regard to truth, that the approaching hostilities were not provoked by any aggressive acts or arbitrary pretensions of the French. From the same station he issued the first *bulletin* of the new war, in which severe reflections were thrown out against Prussia. That power, it was said, had acted injuriously toward France, Russia, and Austria, —in the first instance, by endeavoring to derive advantage from the disorders occasioned by the revolution; secondly, by neglecting the execution of the treaty of Potsdam, and superseding it by that of Vienna; and, in the third respect, by constantly evading the performance of express stipulations. Self-interest, rather than equity or honor, influenced the conduct of the Prussian cabinet.

The army of Napoleon moved forward in three divisions to the Saal, with an intention of engaging the Prussians, and their Saxon associates, before they could receive any succour from the north. The king had made choice of the duke of Brunswick for the chief commander of his troops; an appointment which could not be considered as prudent or judicious, because the duke had never possessed those splendid talents, or that consummate skill which the crisis required, and was at that time infirm in body, and weak in mind. From Muhlhausen on the right, to Hoff on the left, the line in a military sense extended, but not without considerable interventions of unoccupied territory. The head-quarters were at Erfurt; and Meinungen was the station of the van-guard. So inconsiderately had the general advanced, that he afforded to the acute and observant enemy an opportunity of turning his left, seizing his magazines, and obstructing his communications with Berlin and Dresden.

It was concluded by the French leader, from the forward movements of his adversaries, that they intended to advance toward the Rhine, with a view of checking his progress by an early display of vigor: but, if their commander had entertained such an idea, he would not have so long remained quiet while the French were advancing. The duke seems to have trusted to the strength of his central position, which, he thought, the enemy would not be able to force; or it may perhaps, more justly be said, that he did not trust to any thing, being so confounded at the difficulties and dangers of his situation, as to be incapable of forming a regular plan of operations. All

the schemes which were proposed to him, were rejected; and he remained in a state of indecision, ignorant of the enemy's movements and positions. In a council of war, at which the king was present with count Haugwitz, no plan was adjusted; and, while all the officers were in doubt and suspense, the marquis Lucchesini quieted their alarms, by declaring it to be his decided opinion, that Bonaparte would not act offensively in this campaign. The duke was pleased with a suggestion, which relieved him from the torture of anxiety; but, as intelligence of an attack upon Hoff soon arrived, his apprehensions recurred with aggravated force. He was not so deserted by his former courage, as to be afraid to face the enemy: but he seemed to dread the consequences of a general engagement.

When Soult, followed by Ney, menaced the Prussians at Hoff, general Tauenzien retreated to Schleitz, leaving a quantity of stores which he could ill spare. He was continuing his retrograde march, when he was fiercely attacked. He ordered his troops to re-trace their steps to the town; but being severely harassed on their approach to the suburbs, they resumed their retreat with accelerated movements.

Louis, the king's cousin, conducted the van-guard of the left wing, under the prince of Hohenlohe, who had ordered him not to move before the arrival of general Blucher at Hochdorff; and he was then expected to take a position at Auma: but his zeal rose above control, and prompted him to a premature and rash attack. With about 6000 men, he advanced in quest of the enemy, whom he found in great force, occupying some woody hills. If he had stationed himself near the fortress of Schwartzburg, he might have checked the progress of the French, or have secured a retreat to Rudolstadt; but he encountered them near Saalfeld in such a position as enabled them to out-flank him. His men fought with courage, but could not effectually resist the numerical superiority of their foes. While they were retreating with precipitation to avoid ruin, the deserted prince, who was coolly marching from the field, was overtaken by a horseman; and, after a furious combat, he fell by the stroke of the sabre. If he had surrendered, he might have saved his life; but he disdained the thought of yielding to captivity.<sup>1</sup>

This defeat greatly dispirited the whole army. The headquarters were removed to Weimar; and a new line was formed. Jena, being now evacuated, was quickly seized by the French, who also took possession of Naumburg, and deprived

1. Cursory View of Prussia, from the death of Frederick II. to the peace of Tilsit.



the retiring troops of their magazines. Dornberg, the highest ground about Jena, might have been secured, if the Duke had sent a reinforcement to the prince of Hohenlohe; but this advice was neglected. As the enemy continued to advance, the general retired from Weimar, and approached Auerstadt.

About 110,000 men composed the Prussian and Saxon armies, while Bonaparte's force nearly amounted to 150,000. The troops of Frederic were ill supplied with ammunition, and had for some time been distressed by a scarcity of sustenance; and they did not evince that alacrity which might have been expected from the general eagerness of their nation for a war with France. They had not that confidence in their commander, which would have allayed their depression; and an unusual disorder and want of concert seemed to prevail among the different divisions.

So hazardous was the situation into which the Prussians had been brought by the injudicious conduct of their general, that an engagement was apparently advisable, in the hope of avoiding ruin: yet the duke did not wish to accelerate the dreadful collision; nor did he expect so speedy an attack as that which he was compelled to resist. The French commenced the action, during a thick fog, with an assault upon Oct. 14. Tauenzien's division, which they drove from its position near Jena. The prince of Hohenlohe thought that the firing which he heard was a mere feint; and, when he was convinced of his error, he declared that he would not suffer his troops to engage before the dispersion of the fog, as their flanks might be suddenly turned. When the enemy rushed from the hills, however, he gave the example of spirited resistance, and for some time stemmed the torrent. The Saxons under his command, though they complained of being ill-treated by their associates, displayed all the rivalry of courage; but all parts of his division were at length defeated with great slaughter<sup>2</sup>.

The centre of each army contended near Auerstadt. An attempt to gain an elevated position near that town was anticipated by the French, who were far more alert and vigilant than their opponents. The duke and general Schmettau were wounded in the first attack, and borne from the field: and no officer then assumed the chief command. Frederick, who was not immediately informed of the fate of his general, continued to lead the nearest troops into action, and endeavoured to animate

them by his example : but their efforts did not fully answer his expectations. Eager to make a powerful impression upon them, Napoleon ordered his left wing to join in the assault, as the Prussian right had not yet taken a share in the conflict ; and, when the harassed troops began to exhibit symptoms of disorder, he sent forward his reserve to secure the victory. If Ruchel had then appeared with the right, he might have prevented the defeat from being so disastrous as it proved : but, when he arrived, the fortune of the day was so far decided against the Prussians, that his division, after a short resistance, found its only hope of safety in retreat. For a short time, the troops retired without confusion. The approach of the cavalry, however, extinguished all remains of order ; and the most precipitate dispersion of the vanquished army ensued. About 20,000 were killed or wounded in the battle and the pursuit ; and the prisoners formed at least an equal number. The French who suffered are estimated at 4100 by the partial fabrication of the triumphant bulletin : but a duplication of that amount may perhaps be more consistent with truth.

An immediate effect of this great victory was the separation of the Saxons from the Prussian interest. All the captive subjects of the elector were dismissed, under a promise of not acting against the French ; and assurances were given of the friendly intentions of the victorious emperor, who wished to secure Saxony from the Prussian yoke.

The prince of Hohenlohe had retreated to a considerable distance from the plain of Jena, and had been obliged to sustain another conflict in his march, before he had the least knowledge or suspicion of the king's defeat ; and, when he received the melancholy intelligence, he was still in anxious suspense respecting the fate of his unfortunate master. At Sondershausen, however, he was gladdened with the appearance of the fugitive prince, by whom he was promoted to the chief command of that force which yet remained to retrieve the honor of the Prussian name. The king's fortitude was not so weakened by dejection, as to suffer him to court by abject submission the indulgence of a haughty conqueror. He declared that he would continue the war with vigor ; and, having ordered the general to provide for the security of Magdeburg, he hastened to the Oder, to invigorate the defence of Custrin and Stettin. He had received a letter from his powerful enemy, written before the battle, recommending a negotiation, as the only step that could secure him from disgrace and ruin. It

was answered, during the retreat, with a disdainful dignity, which produced an arrogant reply<sup>3</sup>.

Success flowed upon the French with a rapid tide. Erfurt was invested and reduced by Murat; and the captors found in the place a considerable garrison, and a great number of wounded, beside a large addition to the artillery which had been taken in the engagement. Among the prisoners were the prince of Orange and field-marshal Mollendorff. Soult, who was pursuing nearly in the same direction, hoped to increase the number of captives at Greussen, where he descried a Prussian column, which had been formed by the re-assembling of the fugitives. Unable to procure by menaces the desired surrender, he gave directions for an attack, and chased the diminished and disordered division to the walls of Magdeburg. Bernadotte was still more successful. A body of reserve had arrived at Halle from the Oder, under the conduct of prince Eugene of Wirtemberg; and a battle ensued, in which the French captured about 4000 men.

When the prince of Hohenlohe reached Magdeburg, he augmented the garrison, and gave instructions for defence: but he could not rouse general Kleist, the intimidated and desponding governor, to that fervor of patriotic zeal which the crisis required. Finding that the army which he had collected could not be sufficiently provided with subsistence in that part of the country, he anxiously sought a more convenient spot, where inanition might yield to a renovation of physical strength. At Zehdenic, he was haranguing his discouraged troops, when he received information of the defeat of a strong body, which had been overtaken and driven to Prentzlau, and of the accelerated movements of the divisions of Lasnes and Davoust. Continuing his progress toward Stettin, he stopped at Prentzlau, where his troops were quickly surrounded by the enemy. In an interview with Murat, he endeavored to procure honorable terms: but he could only obtain permission for the guards to return to Potsdam, under a promise of not serving without exchange, while transportation to France was to be the fate of the rest of his force. About 9000 Oct. 28. men capitulated on this occasion, resigning their arms in sullen silence<sup>4</sup>.

The weakness of Berlin rendered it an easy prey to the ene-

<sup>3</sup> According to the tenth bulletin, the king requested an armistice for six weeks; but he was unwilling to purchase the favor by degrading concessions.

<sup>4</sup> Cursory View of Prussia. Oct. 28. 1806.

my. It was left by the garrison to the chance of war, and was preserved from anarchy by the superintending care of the prince of Hatzfeld, and the vigilance of an armed association. Davoust and his troops were received without opposition; and the invading chief entered with all the pomp of a conqueror, and behaved with all the arrogance of a tyrant. He banished the prince from the city, and was with difficulty induced to spare his life. The charge adduced against him was, that he had informed the Prussian general of the late movements of the French. Vengeance was denounced against those statesmen and officers who had recommended hostilities; and yet, if Napoleon did not, by secret artifice, promote the very war which he ostensibly reprobated, his fondness for military glory, it might be supposed, would have prompted him to treat, with lenity and indulgence, those who had furnished him with an occasion of splendid triumph. But he pretended to be a friend to peace; and, in that assumed character, he condemned the conduct of the duke of Brunswick, not only for having formerly led an army into France, but for his recent encouragement of war in the Prussian cabinet. That unfortunate commander was obliged, on the approach of the French, to leave his dominions; and, retiring to the vicinity of Altona, he died of his wound. His brutal foe would not even permit his lifeless frame to be deposited among the mouldering remains of his ancestors!

The people of Berlin treated their temporary sovereign, and his intruding troops, with the meanness of servility, and seemed to vie with each other in marks of respect and attention. He was so pleased at their subserviency, that he resolved to raise a regiment among them; and they were encouraged to enlist by a proclamation resembling those addresses by which the recruiting officers in Great Britain allure the people into a hazardous service.

After the capitulation at Prentzlau, the chief army, to the westward of the Oder, was that which Blucher, a brave and skilful officer, commanded. It did not exceed the amount of 11,000; and the men were greatly weakened by hunger and fatigue. The division of Murat (far superior in number) being before him, and that of Bernadotte on his flanks and rear, he could not be insensible of his danger, and therefore eagerly endeavored to effect a junction with the duke of Saxe-Weimar, who had crossed the Elbe with the van, which, becoming subsequently the rear-guard, had no participation in the battle of Auerstadt. He found the duke with above 9000 men at Dum-

beck; but he derived little benefit from the reinforcement, as a fresh division of the enemy, under Soult, threatened him with an attack. His troops suffered severely in partial engagements; and, when he had reached Lubeck, where he hoped to procure refreshment and repose for his men, Bernadotte commenced an assault. Having forced one of the gates, the enemy rushed into the city; and a very sanguinary contest arose in the streets. The public buildings and many private houses were occupied by the Prussians, who fired incessantly upon the French: but the latter at length overwhelmed their adversaries. Great was the loss sustained on this occasion by death and captivity; and, as a considerable number of the harassed soldiers had died during the march, or had been unable to keep pace with the rest, the retreating general, who had also lost the aid of fourteen squadrons by separation, found, on his arrival at Ratkau, that only 9400 men remained under his command. When the three marshals Nov. 7 were preparing to attack him, the inutility of resistance constrained him to capitulate.<sup>5</sup>

So paralyzing was the terror which had diffused itself among the subjects of the Prussian monarchy, that officers who had acquired the reputation of courage and loyalty, scarcely attempted to defend those fortresses from which the enemy might long have been excluded. The quickness of their surrender has been attributed to treachery or corruption: but it may rather be ascribed to the influence of the late victory, and the dispersion of the great army upon which the safety of the realm was supposed to depend. The governors of Spandau and Stettin readily capitulated, and gave up valuable stores at the first requisition. Custrin was taken with equal facility; and Magdeburg, after a short bombardment, was added to the French conquests.<sup>6</sup> The pusillanimity of Kleist and other commandants, in these instances of base surrender, excited such a warmth of indignation in the royal breast, that, in a proclamation issued at Ortelburg, one was condemned to death, and the rest were ignominiously dismissed from the service.

In this campaign, the king of Holland contributed, without

<sup>5</sup> Blucher's Narrative.

<sup>6</sup> It is affirmed, in the Annual Register, that the garrison of this city amounted to 22,000 men: but the writer of the European history, given in that work, too frequently copies the French bulletins, which are shamefully false and inaccurate. The author of the Cursory View gives a more probable account, when he says, that the prince of Hohenlohe had augmented the garrison, so as to make up the amount of 12,000 men.



involving himself in greater danger, to the success of his imperial brother. He over-ran the western portion of the Hanoverian territories, while Hameln and Nienburg were reduced by Savary. He seized the Westphalian dependencies of Prussia, and extended the sway of France to the Weser. Mortier took possession of the principality of Hesse-Cassel, because the landgrave and his son were in the Prussian service; and he then proceeded to Hanover, where he enforced the submission of the administrative body to the will of his fortunate master. His subsequent advance to Hamburg intimidated that mercantile republic, and alarmed the British traders, many of whom were arrested and menaced with long confinement, if they would not disclose the extent of their funds and possessions. The greater part of their property, however, had been already conveyed down the Elbe, beyond the reach of French rapacity. They were plundered and released, while the feeble community submitted to military despotism.

The conquest of Silesia was reserved for the arms of Jerome, whose personal exertions, though not calculated to elevate his martial fame to the highest point, were more distinguished than those of his brother Louis. He undertook the siege of Glogau, which the governor Reinhardt would have immediately surrendered, if his officers had not insisted upon a defence. The siege was not prosecuted with murderous zeal; nor was the place defended with the most vigorous pertinacity. It was taken in the fourth week from the investment. The garrison of Breslau sustained a longer siege, and harrassed the enemy by spirited *sorties*: but, when an external attempt for relief had failed, a dread of the effects of a continued bombardment produced a desire of capitulation.

As Napoleon had frequently lamented, with hypocritical compassion, the oppression and slavery to which the Poles had been subjected since the partition of their country; it was expected that he would now embrace the opportunity of indulging them with that freedom which he was so fond of distributing. He ordered Davoust to cross the Oder, and offer them his protection; and, after he had tyrannised at Berlin, he advanced to Posen, where he encouraged the formation of a patriotic army, which might shake off the degrading and burthensome yoke. A considerable force was consequently levied; but it was far from being so numerous as he expected. While he was thus employed in weakening the power of Prussia, he was informed of the king's refusal of his assent to an armistice signed at Charlottenburg. As the terms of this con-

vention, were both disadvantageous and disgraceful, Frederic resolved to trust to the friendly and vigorous co-operation of the Russian emperor, who had long been preparing to assist him. A respectable army marched to the Vistula; but when the advanced guard had been repelled by Murat, a retreat was ordered; and the French took possession of Warsaw, where they formed some heavy batteries, the fire of which drove their adversaries beyond the Bug. The passage of that river was long disputed: but after the first parties which crossed it had severely suffered, the invading army gained the right bank. Near the Urka, the Russian entrenchments were forced after an obstinate conflict; and general Kamenskoi then ordered Buxhofden and Beningsen to fall back to the Niemen: but the latter of these officers ventured to disobey the command, and resolved, with three strong divisions, to take a position near Pultusk. The right wing, commanded by Barclay de Tolli, was thrown forward into a wood, which extended along the front of the whole line, but retired considerably near the centre: the left, under Ostermann, rested upon the town, between which the wood and plain appeared, intersected with small defiles. Marshal Lasnes advanced against the cen- Dec. 26. tral body, which was conducted by Sacken, and commenced a feeble cannonade. The left was soon after attacked with vigour; but the Russian infantry kept up such a steady and galling fire, that no impression could be made upon that division; and, as the attempt to pierce the centre proved also unsuccessful, almost the whole force of the enemy was thrown upon the right, which recoiled at the dreadful shock. Some of the batteries in the wood were carried by assault; and the French pressed forward, as to a certain victory. When they endeavoured to out-flank that wing, Beningsen ordered the front to be changed to the rear, and detached a reinforcement to that quarter. Tremendous volleys from a long range of artillery now assailed the French, and spread confusion among their ranks. They were dislodged from the wood, and began to retreat from all parts of the field. About 5000 men were killed or wounded on the side of the Russians, and 8000 in the opposite army. The array of the former, at the beginning of the battle, exhibited 45,000 men; while the French army nearly amounted to 60,000.<sup>7</sup>

At Golomyn, prince Gallitzin was exposed, on the same day, to an impetuous attack from the whole corps of Angereau and

<sup>7</sup> Sketch of the Campaigns in Poland, in the year 1806 and 1807, by Sir Robert Wilson.

from Murat's cavalry : but his undismayed troops did not give way ; and when he was reinforced in the evening, he drove back the enemy at every point : but in pursuance of the late order for a discontinuance of offensive operations, and in anxious doubt of the event of Beningsen's engagement, he marched to join that commander, after having sustained and inflicted considerable loss ; and both generals retired to Ostrolenka, not, (as the French affirmed) with the accelerated and confused movements of a vanquished army, but with a firm countenance and a regular progress. About the same time, Lestocq, with a Prussian division, retreated in a less orderly manner, having been severely harrassed by Ney in his march from Thorn.

The success of Bonaparte in this campaign encouraged him to attempt the enforcement of a new scheme of hostility against Great Britain. While he held his military court at Berlin, he denounced vengeance against a power which he considered as his most determined enemy. He not only accused the king of inflaming other princes against him, but inveighed in strong terms against the mode in which our monarch asserted his supposed maritime rights ; and in retaliation of this odious tyranny, he promulgated an unprecedented ordinance, declaring that the British islands were in a state of blockade (when he had not the means of enforcing his threats even against the isle of Wight ;) prohibiting all commerce and correspondence with those territories ; menacing with captivity all British subjects who might be found in the countries occupied by his troops, or those of his allies ; commanding the confiscation of the property of those intruding strangers, and of every article of British or colonial produce or manufacture which his people might possess ; and excluding from his ports all vessels, which should come directly from Britain or any of its dependencies. Considering himself as master of the continent, he arrogantly gave to this scheme the appellation of the continental system. It was the project of a malignant statesman, the enemy of human comfort and amicable intercourse. Disappointed in his own wish for extensive commerce, he resolved to obstruct, to the utmost extent of his power, the mercantile pursuits of other nations, and particularly aimed at the ruin of the foreign traffic which Great Britain had long commanded. The people of Hamburg and Lubeck were immediately threatened with the resentment of France, if they should not strictly comply with the new edict ; and the Danes were repeatedly desired, but without effect, to close the Sound against

British vessels. The Dutch could not easily avoid an adoption of the rigorous system ; and the Swiss had previously been called to a severe account for their encouragement of British manufactures.

Bonaparte continued to exercise the most unjustifiable authority over the feeble government of Spain ; yet even his pliant tool, the prince of Peace, displayed in one instance some degree of spirit. Hearing of the proposal of the French cabinet, in the arrangements with Mr. d'Oubril, for the transfer of the Balearic islands to the king of Sicily or his son, the Spanish minister was so incensed at this audacity and injustice, that he ordered an additional force to be levied for the defence of the kingdom. He was so humbled, however, by the triumph of the French in Germany, that, when he could no longer make use of the idle pretence of having raised the troops under the expectation of a war with the emperor of Morocco, he consented to detach a great part of the number, as an accession to the victorious army.

The known weakness of Portugal, and its contiguity to a country in which the sway of the French seemed to be so fully established, naturally exposed it to their arrogance and tyranny ; and the consideration of its intimate connexion with Great Britain, gave additional asperity to the wantonness of insolence. They had compelled the regent, soon after the renewal of the war, to agree to a treaty, by which he bound himself to pay an annual subsidy for their forbearance. Their ambassador domineered over the court, and exercised a degree of authority which disgusted the nation. Not content with a dictation of their will, they at length threatened to invade and subjugate the realm, unless the British sovereign would assent to their terms of peace. Troops were assembled, apparently for that purpose ; and the readiness of the Spanish court to concur in such an enterprise, while the prince of Peace remained at the helm, was obvious and undoubted. In the event of conquest, that ambitious minister hoped to receive a share of the spoils.

Alarmed at the danger of Portugal, the king ordered the earl of St. Vincent to sail with a squadron to the Tagus, and, in concert with the earl of Rosslyn, to devise the best means of warding off the storm of invasion. It was difficult to persuade the Portuguese ministers of the existence of any serious danger. They denied that any preparations had been made for an invasion ; and expressed their apprehensions of the ill consequences of the appearance of a British fleet in the Tagus,

which might provoke the French to hostilities that might otherwise be avoided : at the same time they expressed their gratitude for the offer of protection. After some delay, the two earls returned to Britain, as Bonaparte's views were directed to other objects. The prince's situation, however, still remained precarious. The storm was merely suspended ; and neither the court nor the people possessed that energy which could save their country, without the strenuous aid of a more powerful nation. A sense of patriotism, and a detestation of the French, certainly existed ; but the troops were undisciplined ; there was no vigor in the government ; and the prince was not sufficiently enlightened to rule with that wisdom which the emergency required, nor did he possess that determined courage which could undauntedly face a resolute enemy. The kingdom was destitute of able statesmen and experienced generals ; and no individual appeared, who was capable of directing with due effect the resources which yet remained. If, under these circumstances, the nation should not rouse itself to action, but should quietly submit to the French, the earl of Rosslyn gave notice, that Great Britain would secure the Portuguese fleet, and not suffer the colonies to follow the fate of the parent country.

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## LETTER VIII.

### *Continuation of the History, to the Peace of Tilsit.*

A. D. 1806. THE precipitancy with which the Prussian court had rushed into war, tended only to aggravate the misfortunes and increase the dangers of the continent. It gave an extraordinary advantage to the barbarian ruler of France, whom it enabled to dictate his will with more commanding effect. The Austrian emperor had so severely suffered by a similar rashness, that he was unwilling to risque a renewal of the war ; and the British ministers, while they viewed the storm with anxiety, were not prepared to resist its fury. At the meeting of the new parliament, the lord chancellor,



in the king's name, took notice of the "difficult and arduous circumstances" under which the two houses were assembled; and deplored the calamitous events of that war which had been recently kindled by the "ambition and injustice of the enemy." Prussia, he said, had been constrained to adopt the resolution of resistance; but "neither this determination, nor the succeeding measures, were previously concerted with his majesty." Even the hostile demeanor of the court of Berlin, both toward Hanover and Great Britain, had not precluded the manifestation of a wish to afford every assistance that it could desire against the common enemy: but the rapid course of misfortune had "opposed insurmountable difficulties to the execution of this purpose." Amidst these disastrous incidents, it was pleasing to observe the unshaken fidelity of the Russian emperor, with whom it was more particularly necessary to establish a cordial union, because such an alliance afforded the "only remaining hope of safety for the continent of Europe." Dec. 19.

In the early debates, the affairs of Prussia and the conduct of the ministry were discussed with freedom. The misfortunes of Frederic William were imputed to that narrow and selfish policy by which he had been guided. It was affirmed, that he had illiberally consulted with his own apparent interest, without regard to the general welfare of Europe; that he had long been blind to the danger which threatened him; and that, when he at last roused himself to an appearance of energy, he acted without caution or judgment, and without even waiting for that succour by which he might have been saved from ruin. The ministers were blamed for not having given a proper direction to his rising zeal, and for not checking his rashness by friendly expostulation, until a regular concert had been established. They were accused of being more disposed to resent his offence, than to assist him in his distress; and their pretence of being precluded from an opportunity of supporting him was declared to be evasive and unsatisfactory.

The late negotiation with France did not excite the warmth of debate, but was discussed with unusual temper. The assertion, that the French had agreed to the basis of actual possession, was denied by some of the anti-ministerial orators, although Lord Yarmouth, deceived by loose speeches, considered it as an admitted point. Mr. Whitbread differed from his friends in the cabinet in thinking that peace might have been obtained by a perseverance in the negotiation, as the French seemed to afford greater facility for it A. D. 1807.

than on any other occasion subsequent to their revolution; and he therefore proposed, that the king should be requested to promote a renewal of diplomatic communication, rather than avoid it under a pretence of that unbounded ambition which prompted the enemy to baffle all conciliatory endeavours. But his amendment was deemed unseemly; and both houses thanked his majesty for having offered every sacrifice to peace that the interest and glory of his people would allow. It was the general opinion, that Napoleon and Talleyrand had no other view, in proposing a treaty, than to amuse the British government, while they were artfully goading Prussia into premature hostilities.

For the vigorous prosecution of the war which was thus destined for a long continuance, the commons readily voted large supplies; but the amount did not equal that of the preceding year, although 10,000 more seamen were allowed. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed such a plan, as might provide for an indefinite protraction of the war, and yet relieve the public from the heavy pressure of taxation. It may not be easy to explain this paradox; and it is not the province of the historian to enter into the *minutiæ* of official calculation. The measure was grounded on the flourishing state of the permanent revenue, on the great produce of the taxes which had been appropriated to the war, on the progressive amount of the sinking fund, and on the cessation of annuities granted for a limited term. If the annual war loan should be twelve millions during three years, fourteen for another year, and sixteen for each of the ten following years, so much of the war taxes (said the grand financier) as would be sufficient to meet the charge, would be pledged, at the rate of ten *per cent.*—and a sum would thus be raised, which would not only defray the interest of the loan, but would contribute to the formation of a separate sinking fund. By the operation of this fund, the pledged portions of the taxes in question would respectively redeem their loans within fourteen years from the date of each; and, if the war should not then be closed, the liberated parts might be again pledged in the same mode. It might be necessary, even after the return of peace, still to exact some of these imposts; but the property tax was not intended to be continued beyond the first April from the termination of the war. As the eventual charge for the interest and new sinking fund would necessarily create a deficiency in the temporary revenue applicable to the immediate purposes of the war, supplementary loans would be requisite: but the united loans

would not, even if hostilities should be prolonged for twenty years, be more than five millions, in any one year, beyond the amount to which the combined sinking fund of that year would rise. For the present and two next years, no additional imposts would be necessary; and, for seven subsequent years, less than 300,000 pounds would be annually required, beside the existing taxes. If the war should unfortunately continue beyond that term, the excess of the established sinking fund might be applied, without a violation of the true principles of Mr. Pitt's system, to the alleviation of the public burthens.<sup>1</sup>

The most pleasing feature of this scheme was the promised exemption, for three years, from a continuance of financial rapacity. An Hibernian orator objected to the details, and disputed the result; and he offered a *contreprojet*, which, as might have been expected, was even less luminous than the plan of lord Henry Petty. Neither of these financiers made a proper allowance for accidents and contingencies; and the schemes of both were more delusive than substantial.

Having thus pretended to settle the complicated affairs of finance, the ministry proceeded to a redemption of a pledge which had been given for the abolition of the slave trade. Lord Grenville ably supported the bill which he introduced for that laudable purpose; and, when some eminent professors of the law had been heard at the bar of each house against it, it was confirmed by the royal assent. March 25. Lord Percy, being of opinion that the same principles which condemned the traffic in slaves were equally hostile to slavery itself, proposed a bill for its gradual extinction: but, as the point which had been already gained was deemed, for the present a sufficient victory over prejudice, obstinacy, and injustice, the question of emancipation was indefinitely postponed by general consent.

A desire of favouring the catholics, or (in their own language) of granting that complete participation of the rights of citizens, which no government could justly withhold, had long been entertained by many distinguished members of both houses, while others were only inclined to remove all restrictions with regard to the army and navy. The leaders of the administration were of opinion, that this point ought to be immediately conceded, at a time when the increasing power and aggravated enmity of France pointed out the necessity of an augmentation of the national force, and of an exertion of all the energies of the empire. The consideration of the disordered

<sup>1</sup> Appendix to the Annual Register.

state of Ireland rendered such a measure more particularly expedient, because it would tend to allay the discontent of the catholics, who were the chief disturbers of that country. When his majesty was informed of the intention of proposing to the parliament the admission of the complaining sectaries to the highest stations in both services, he expressed his disapprobation of the indulgence: but when it was strongly urged in a memorial from the cabinet, he assented to the proposal. A correspondence ensued with the viceroy of Ireland, who, having desired an explanation of some parts of the scheme, received an unequivocal answer, in which the king acquiesced. Some doubts arising in the royal breast, were seemingly removed by a written statement of the clauses which would be introduced into the annual bill against mutiny, in pursuance of the new scheme; for the account was sent back without comment or objection.<sup>2</sup> While the bill was in its progress, however, a learned lord and other secret advisers had interviews with a great personage, who, in consequence of their suggestions and his own more deliberate examination of the subject, declared himself hostile to the proposed concessions. The ministers humbly offered modifications of the scheme; but his majesty's repugnance induced them to relinquish it. They were willing to yield to the conscientious feelings of their sovereign, but still declared their sense of the expediency and policy of gratifying a loyal portion of the community. Not content with the present abandonment of the intended grant, the king insisted upon a promise, in writing, that they would never renew the same proposition, or bring forward any measure tending to favor the catholics. They properly refused to submit to this arbitrary restriction; and the offended monarch demanded their retreat from official power: but he dismissed them without asperity, and acknowledged to some of the number, his high sense of their general merits.

During the transient sway of these ministers, though they did not distinguish themselves as able conductors of the war, some temporary additions were made to the dependencies of Great-Britain. Captain Brisbane, with four frigates, undertook the conquest of Curaçoa. The task was hazardous; for the harbour was apparently secured by works of regular construction; the narrow entrance was defended by armed vessels; and a commanding height exhibited well furnished batteries. A fierce cannonade harassed, but did not discourage the intruders, who boarded the opposing ships, stormed the works

and the town, and intimidated the commandant of the principal fort into a capitulation.<sup>3</sup> The Dutch commodore lost his life in the action. Valuable spoils accrued to the captors of the island; and the victorious officer assumed the government, which he exercised with prudence and vigor.

The partial success which had attended the British arms in South-America, in the preceeding year, encouraged the ministry to a renewal of hostile attempts upon the Spanish colonies. Miranda had solicited aid for an expedition to the same part of the globe; but, as his object was to erect the standard of independence, his application was unproductive of any direct assistance. He merely procured some small vessels and a few men from admiral Cochrane, in addition to the scanty force which he had obtained at New-York; and when he had made a descent upon the coast of Caraccas, he in vain endeavoured to draw the inhabitants of Coro into his views. Thus disappointed, he retired with his adventurous party to Trinidad.

Rear-admiral Stirling having superseded the rapacious and inhuman<sup>4</sup> sir Home Popham in the command of the squadron upon the South American station, and the troops (which had found refuge at Maldonado) being subjected to the command of sir Samuel Auchmuty, who had landed with a reinforcement, an attempt was made with 4000 men for the reduction of Monte-Video. The invaders met with little opposition in their advance to the town: but when they had reached the suburbs, a body of infantry engaged the British left with such vigour, as to disorder some of the battalions; and many gallant combatants fell on both sides. A column of cavalry anxiously observed this conflict without venturing to assist, and retreated as soon as it appeared that a sudden attack upon a flank of the infantry had secured the victory to the enemies of Spain. Preparations were now made for a siege; and not only land-batteries were opened, but the frigates and smaller vessels approached so as to cannonade the town. On the eleventh day of the siege, a breach was reported by the engineers to be practicable; and arrangements were made for an assault. In the mean time, the opening was so far barricadoed by hides, that, amidst the darkness of the night, it could not for some time be discovered. Captain Rennie, having pointed it out,

<sup>3</sup> On the 1st of January.

<sup>4</sup> This epithet will not be deemed harsh, as he was accused by Liniers (apparently on indisputable authority) of having left 200 Spanish prisoners to perish on a rocky island in the Rio de la Plata. Some of them, it is said, escaped by swimming, with the aid of seal skins, and procured a vessel for the rescue of their comrades.



fell in the act of ascending. The first party eagerly mounted, rushed into the town, overturned the artillery which had been planted at the entrance of each of the principal streets, and forced a passage with the bayonet.<sup>5</sup> A regiment, which had been desired to wait until the foremost assailants should open one of the gates, felt all the impatience of zeal, and sealed the walls with undaunted alacrity. The citadel did not long resist the bold intruders; and soon after day-break, all resistance was subdued.<sup>6</sup> So small a stock of ammunition then remained to the besiegers, that, if the breach had not been so seasonably made, they would have been obliged to relinquish their enterprise. About 1300 of the Spaniards and provincials were killed or wounded, and 2000 were made prisoners. On the part of the captors, about 600 suffered.<sup>7</sup>

An expedition from which the friends of the ministry expected great success, was also directed against the Spaniards: but, as the military force sent out did not exceed the amount of 4200 men, it could not reasonably be expected that great or extensive conquests would accrue from the enterprise. Brigadier Crauford, who commanded this army, was ordered to make a descent in Chili, and, on the acquisition of any part of that province, to take every step that might tend to conciliate the inhabitants, who, without any arbitrary change in the form of their government, were to be placed under the protection and authority of Great Britain. With regard to that support which the provincials might expect at the conclusion of a peace, no positive or determinate promise was to be given: he was merely directed to assure them, that they should have no cause for apprehension. It was, indeed, the wish of the ministers, that the conquests should be retained, rather than that any hopes of independence should be encouraged. Before the armament left the cape of Good Hope, its destination was altered by new orders, in consequence of the loss of Buenos-Ayres; and its direction was fixed for the Río de la Plata. To direct the efforts of all the British troops on that station, lieutenant-general Whitlocke, who was recommended by interest, not selected (as a commander ought to have been) for ability and merit,

5. On the 31 of February.

6. "In the morning (says the general) the town was quiet, and the women were peaceably walking in the streets." How different was this scene from that which would have been exhibited, if French soldiers had been the assailants! The women would then have remained in their houses, in all the agony of terror, dreading the approach of the licentious ruffians.

7. London Gazette Extraordinary of April 13.

sailed from England in the spring with an additional force. Leaving garrisons at Monte-Video and Colonia, he passed up the river with about 8000 men, well supplied with the apparatus of a siege. Finding, after his disembarkation, that the opposite banks of the Chuelo, near the ordinary road, were defended by formidable batteries, he marched to a secure part, and proceeded to the vicinity of Buenos-Ayres. He was aware of the intention of annoying the invaders from the flat roofs of the houses: yet he prohibited his men from firing, until they had advanced through the town to the proposed points of attack. The vigour of these reserved assaults would then, he thought effectually subdue the spirit of resistance. The troops, in their progress, were severely harrassed by the firing of small arms from the parapets and windows, by showers of stones and bricks, and by effusions of grape-shot from July 5. cannon planted in the ditches which intersected the streets. Two regiments conducted to the left by sir Samuel Auchmuty, attacked a strong post, which they gained by vigorous exertions. Another detachment moved forward, and seized a defensible church and monastery. The hostilities of the defenders fell with particular weight upon that division which brigadier Lumley commanded; and while one of his regiments passed unbroken through the ordeal, the other, weakened by the death of many brave men, could not reach its destined post, or prevent itself from being totally overpowered. Four troops of carbiniers, moving along the central streets, suffered great loss; and Crauford's brigade, after a fruitless attack upon the Jesuits' college, and a spirited defence of a convent which that officer had seized, reluctantly submitted to captivity, when all hopes of support or relief were found to be fallacious. At the close of the day, the commander in chief could only boast that two of his divisions had gained a post on the right and another on the left; while he "occupied an advanced position toward the centre; and these trifling and transitory advantages were purchased with the death, wounds, or captivity of 2500 men.<sup>8</sup>

This serious disappointment, and the consideration of the determined enmity of the Spaniards and provincials, induced the general to relinquish his hopes of success in this part of South America. He found that two parties divided the town

<sup>8</sup> London Gazette Extraordinary of September 13.—Of the loss of men in this ill-conducted attack, he speaks with a remarkable want of feeling: "in an instant the greater part of the company, and Maj. Trotter, were killed; but *the gun was saved.*"

and its dependencies ; one consisting of the adherents of the Spanish government, who bitterly resented the hostilities of the English ; the other of the advocates of independence, who apprehended that the invaders would retain their conquests during the war, and leave the inhabitants on the restoration of peace, to the mercy of an offended court. Reflecting on these circumstances, he acquiesced in the proposals of Liniers, the governor of the town ; and a convention was signed, importing that hostilities should cease on both sides of the Rio de la Plata ; that all prisoners should be restored by both parties ; that Monté Video might be retained for two months, but should then be given up to the Spaniards, and every part of South America be evacuated by the British troops.

By the same ministers, an armament was sent to the East. Between the conflicting intrigues of the French and Russians at Constantinople, the divan seemed not to know how to act. The reluctance of the grand seignor to an acknowledgment of the imperial title of Bonaparte, and to the reception of his representative, had yielded to those impressions of terror which the victory of Austerlitz was calculated to produce ; and each court sent an ambassador, one for the purpose of congratulation, the other for the artful promotion of political objects. Sebastiani was deputed on this occasion ; and his arrival at Constantinople was soon known by its effects. The hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia were removed at his instigation, in repugnance to a convention with Russia, which, he said, was virtually abrogated by one of the stipulations of M. d'Oubril ; and, when he was informed of the refusal of a ratification of that minister's treaty, he addressed a note to the secretary of state, couched in terms of mingled conciliation and menace. He declared, that his august sovereign was earnestly intent on securing the independence and promoting the glory of the Turkish government and nation ; that all the resources of France should be employed for the interest of Selim ; and that a large army now stationed at Dalmatia, would act with energy for the defence of his highness, unless an impolitic condescension toward Russia and Great Britain should compel his imperial majesty to withdraw his support. He assured the sultan's minister, that the motives of Alexander for the rejection of the treaty were inimical to the Ottoman state, because the agreement would have bound him to a forbearance of aggressive encroachment. He not only recommended, but required, the exclusion of Russian ships, laden with the means of hostility, from the entrance of the sea of Marmora and the

passage to the Mediterranean ; intimating, that any encouragement given to the adversaries of France would be deemed an act of enmity, and would produce vigorous measures of counteraction.

This note being communicated to the Russian and British envoys, with a view of learning their sentiments, the insolence of the demand was censured, and the impropriety of acquiescence was stated in strong terms : it was even declared, that the note ought to have been returned with marks of indignation, and its author expelled from the Turkish court. Yet the sultan, overawed by the resolute tone which Sebastiani had assumed, gave notice that the exclusion would be enforced. Italinski announced his intention of returning into Russia, if the porte should persist in this mean submission to the dictates of France ; and he peremptorily demanded the reinstatement of the two hospodars. After a delay of three weeks, those princes were restored, notwithstanding their alledged delinquency or disaffection. This tardy compliance gave offence, rather than satisfaction, to Alexander ; and the promise of leaving the navigation unrestricted did not allay his desire of intimidating the porte, by hostilities, into a rupture with France, or of profiting in point of territorial acquisition by the weakness of the Turkish government. He sent an army into Moldavia<sup>9</sup> under the command of Michelson, who, in an absurd manifesto, stated frivolous pretences as grounds of hostility. In the invaded province, all opposition was quickly subdued : the defenders of Wallachia made a feeble resistance ; and Bessarabia also submitted to the Russians, who advanced to the Danube with hopes of ulterior conquest.

An invasion so unprovoked inflamed the Turks almost to phrensy. They imprecated vengeance on the daring infidels, and eagerly desired to be led into the field. But the court did not readily imbibe the furious zeal of the people. Harassed by insurrections of the fanatics of Arabia, of the oppressed Christians in Servia and Bosnia, and of the provincials in various parts of Albania, Selim was confused and distracted. Amidst these various contests, he was inclined to preserve peace with a nation whose power he dreaded : but, when a Russian vessel had attempted to enter the Constantinopolitan strait with despatches for Italinski, which, on the appearance of opposition, were thrown into the sea, he yielded to the national wish, and declared war against Alexander. A great

force was levied for the defence of the empire ; and even the pasha of Widin, who had so frequently acted the part of a rebel, led an army against the sultan's enemies.

So desirous was the Russian emperor of humbling the Turks, that he courted the aid of Great Britain against them, alleging the necessity of annihilating the French influence over the divan. The king, unwilling to disoblige so powerful an ally, whose friendship he wished to secure, ordered sir John Thomas Duckworth to enter the Dardanelles, and offer terms to the Porte at the cannon's mouth. The admiral approached the strait with seven ships of the line ; and, in passing the two first castles, he made no return to the hostile fire Feb. 19. wishing (he says) to preserve every appearance of amity ; but, as his forbearance did not conciliate the Turks, he returned with great spirit the heavy cannonade of the interior forts. Observing a small squadron near Point Pesquies, he ordered an immediate attack, as if the two nations had been long at war. The leading division of his fleet fired as it passed ; and sir Sidney Smith completed the confusion of the Turks, who were compelled to witness the destruction of one ship of the line and four frigates. This outrage excited, among the subjects of the Porte, all the warmth of indignation ; and it convinced the world, that even those governments which make the loudest boasts of their adherence to justice, are sometimes disposed to follow that course which they would strongly reprobate in the practice of others. Proceeding through the strait, the fleet reached the Prince's Islands, and anchored at the distance of about eight miles from Constantinople. Mr. Arbuthnot then proposed a negotiation, in which the Porte acquiesced ; and thus an insulted nation gained time for those defensive preparations which had been hitherto neglected.

While the grand seignior professed a desire of peace, the people loudly called for war ; and the zeal with which batteries and other works were raised could not be exceeded. Some French engineers and officers of artillery directed these necessary labours ; and a well fortified coast defied all attacks from a squadron which had no land force to invade the country.

The proposals of the British envoy were not the most reasonable that could be offered to an independent power : but the supposed imbecility of the Turkish Cabinet encouraged an attempt to enforce submission. It was required as a pledge of amicable intentions on the part of the grand seignior, that all his ships of war should be delivered up with their stores, and that he should enter into such engagements as might secure



the influence of the British court over the divan; and it was announced, that a non-compliance with these terms would expose his vessels and his capital to the risque of destruction. The imperious demands were not immediately rejected; but after six days of negotiation, they were declared inadmissible.

If the admiral had been inclined to cannonade or bombard the Turkish capital, it appears, by his own account, to have been out of his power. The strength of the current from the Bosphorus, and the circuitous eddies of the port, rendered a commanding breeze a necessary prelude to the dispositions for an attack; but such a wind he had not the good fortune to obtain. Indeed, he was pleased at the distant position which he had been obliged to take, as "a nearer approach might have given cause for suspicion and alarm, and have cut off the prospect of an amicable adjustment." But he had no reason to expect a speedy accommodation, after he had roused every man in the empire against the bold intruders by the destruction of the squadron in the Dardanelles.

When the negotiations were broken off, a retreat was absolutely necessary, as, in addition to the number of well manned batteries, twelve ships of the line and nine frigates were apparently ready for action, with a multitude of smaller vessels. The vice-admiral therefore weighed anchor, and, unattacked by the fleet, sailed toward the strait. The forts harrassed the retiring squadron with a spirited fire; and it was apprehended that the granite shot, some of which (it is said) exceeded the weight of 800 pounds, would have greatly injured the ships: but the damage inflicted in that respect was not very severe. In the advance and retreat, however, 277 men were killed or wounded.<sup>10</sup>

This expedition was no proof of the judgment or ability of the ministers. It served only to expose the public character of Great Britain to reproach for the injustice of the attempt, and to ridicule for the mode in which the scheme was conducted. If intimidation was the only object, the commander proceeded too far, as he converted terror into rage: and if a serious impression upon Constantinople was intended, the vigor that was exercised was insufficient and inadequate.

Instead of sending powerful aid to Prussia, the court, being inconsiderately and unjustly intent upon the new war, sent an armament to Egypt. Major-general Fraser sailed from Sicily with all the troops that could be spared from the defence of that island; but, the greater part of the transports being sepa-

rated from the rest, not many more than 1000 men disembarked near Marabout. Major Misset, the British resident at Alexandria, had already exerted all his endeavours to promote the surrender of the town to the English; while the French consul was employed in stimulating the governor to resist the intruders with the utmost vigor. Having forced an intrenchment under a heavy fire, the troops marched toward the city, and by menacing the inhabitants with a furious assault, procured from the feeble garrison a promise of capitulation. The terms were quickly adjusted; and thus a considerable town was obtained, besides two frigates, with the loss of only seven men. Sir John Duckworth soon after arrived with his squadron; and the rest of the transports having also reached the coast, the new conquest seemed to be secure. When it was represented by the resident and the chief magistrate, that the Alexandrians and their new masters were in danger of famine, unless Rosetta should be seized, the commander in chief sent a detachment, which easily took possession of the heights of Aboumandour. Without a previous examination of the town and its means of defence, major-general Wauchope and brigadier Meade rashly entered with the whole party, and were exposed to an incessant firing from the houses, by which above 460 men were killed or wounded. The leader of the detachment was one of the victims; but his associate escaped with only a wound. Another attempt was made with a more considerable force, which it was expected would be joined by a strong body of Mamelouks. Brigadier Stewart, who was the commanding officer on this occasion, invested the town as far as the number of his troops would allow, and commenced a bombardment and cannonade, which the Albanians and the armed inhabitants answered by discharges of musquetry through innumerable apertures in the walls. After a fortnight's siege, the approach of a reinforcement to the enemy occasioned a retreat, during which some attempts were made to surround the invaders, who rescued themselves, however, with great spirit and alacrity. In this imprudent enterprise, above 900 men were killed, wounded, captured, or reported to be missing; and it was afterward demonstrated, that the alleged motive for the attempt rested on misinformation. Alexandria was at length surrendered, to avoid a ruinous attack, which could not be withstood without a fresh supply of men; and the troops, after the liberation of their captive comrades, returned to Sicily. The public murmured at the misfortunes of this unnecessary war, while the

new ministers were not displeased at an opportunity of censuring the folly and rashness of their predecessors.

During this war, the prince, whom the domineering allies wished to reduce to full submission, lost his throne by his partiality to European tactics. The preparations which he made to resist his enemies had an unfortunate effect, by calling the attention of the people to his zeal for the new discipline. When prejudices are obstinate and deeply rooted, attempts for their removal are highly dangerous, unless the greatest delicacy and caution be used. Selim had long evinced a partiality for the arts and customs of the polished nations of Christendom; and he particularly wished to improve the military discipline of his people. He had therefore equipped and trained a numerous body of his subjects in the modes and forms of those who were hated as infidels; and this innovation excited such disgust and alarm among the rigid votaries of the Koran, that prudence seemed to dictate its temporary discontinuance.<sup>11</sup> Trusting, however, to his long establishment on the throne, and to the dignity of his character and station, he did not relinquish his scheme; and he even dismissed the Janissaries from their attendance at court. Those arrogant bigots denounced vengeance against him. One of their number having, in a quarrel with a soldier of the new institution, dared to animadvert upon the conduct of his sovereign, Halil, the commandant of Cavac, sharply reprovved him for his freedom of remark; and, between the supporters of the old forms and the advocates of military innovation, a conflict arose, in which that officer and Mahmoud, the inspector of the fortifications, lost their lives. This was the beginning of an insurrection, which soon proceeded to the height of treason. A considerable number of the people, complaining of the scarcity of provisions, were ready to join the discontented soldiers, as soon as they heard of the mutiny. Another officer, who favored the military reform, was murdered at Buyukdere, with some of his attendants, by the fury of

<sup>11</sup> An instance of the dangerous impolicy of resisting the prejudices of half-civilised men occurred in British India in 1806. So disgusted and alarmed were the Sepoys at the intended substitution of a drummer's cap for a turban, and at an order for a removal of the distinguishing marks of *cast*, and for shaving the upper lip, that they were disposed to give credit to the report of concurrent intentions hostile to the free exercise of their religion; and, thus inflamed, two battalions surrounded the barracks of the Europeans at Vellour, murdered the men who kept the guard, and all the officers whom they could find, and continued these outrages until a party of dragoons arrived, who, being assisted by a sally from the barracks, made great havoc among the assailants, and suppressed the mutiny. The new regulations were then revoked, and it was supposed that tranquility could not otherwise be fully restored.

the insurgents, who then repaired to the capital, and received such accessions of force as swelled their number to a great army. The chief Bostangi was sent by the sultan to appease their wrath by the mildness of persuasion, and to allure them to submission by pecuniary offers; but he withheld the money, and failed in the object of his commission. To convince the government that they were actuated only by public motives, they punished two of their associates with death for acts of depredation; and, affecting a high regard for the laws of the empire, they declared that they would not prosecute their enterprise, unless the mufti should honor it with his sanction. Their leaders stated two questions for his decision. One was, whether a prince who had introduced among true believers the manners and customs of infidels, and manifested an intention of subverting that military establishment which combined the defence of the state with the support of law and religion, ought to retain his exalted dignity. The other interrogatory related to the invalidity of Selim's continued pretensions to the throne, as he had reigned without issue beyond the limited term of seven years. Overawed by the firm countenance and stern demeanor of the malcontents, the mufti gave such answers as they wished to receive. This encouragement prompted them to demand the exemplary punishment of the sultan's chief advisers. Several members of the divan were immediately decapitated,<sup>12</sup> and their bleeding heads were sent to the rebels, who, still dissatisfied, insisted upon the deposition of Selim. The unfortunate prince, despairing of the retention of his throne, visited his imprisoned nephew Mustapha, whose claim to the succession would, he thought, be acknowledged; and having warned him of the danger of making great changes, abdicated the sovereignty. He then took a cup of sherbet, into which poison had by his order been infused, and would have closed his life and reign at the same time, if his nephew had not dashed the cup from his hand, and, by assurances of protection, recalled him to fortitude and to hope. When a party of Janissaries, deputed by the insurgent leaders, reached the palace with an intimation of the popular will, Mustapha had already assumed the imperial dignity; and, being proclaimed sultan, he repaired to the principal mosque

12. Of these victims, one was aga Yusef, the favorite of Selim's mother. It is said, that the sultan's unpopular innovations were eagerly recommended by this lady and her friend, with a view of securing support against the Janissaries, if they should be induced to call for his deposition, after the lapse of the septennial term fixed by the law for the duration of his reign.

in solemn procession, to confirm the political appointment by the awful ceremonies of religion.

The new emperor annulled the offensive military regulations; and as the French influence prevailed so strongly in Europe, he was more disposed to listen to the insinuations of Sebastiani, than to yield to the menaces of Russia and Great-Britain. He therefore suffered the war to be continued; and, as a Russian fleet, commanded by Siniavin, blockaded the entrance of the Dardanelles, and intercepted the supplies intended for Constantinople, he ordered the captain-pasha to attack the enemy, who had already taken possession of several islands in the Archipelago. An engagement ensued near Tenedos, to the great disadvantage of the Turks, who, in opposing a superior force, lost seven ships by capture and destruction, and witnessed the death of 1000 of their associates. The war was at the same time, prosecuted by land; but the Russians did not materially add to the success of the preceding campaign.

While Alexander endeavoured to impress the Turks with a dread of his power, he directed the greatest share of his attention to the war which he waged against the French. He encouraged the king of Prussia with the hope of better fortune, and made arrangements for a vigorous campaign. His British majesty, having re-established the relations of peace and amity with Frederic, who renounced all pretensions to Hanover, invigorated the exertions of this prince by pecuniary grants and large supplies of arms and stores. He also continued to subsidise the king of Sweden, who, by keeping an army in Pomerania, occasioned a diversion of the French force.

Military operations, after a short respite, were renewed even in the winter. The hostilities of small detachments, and the incursions of dispersed parties, are unworthy of specification in the general narrative of an extended war: but the affair of Mohrungen claims notice. Major-general Markoff assaulted a strong post, and was repelled by a gradual increase of the hostile force. Being encouraged by an accession of cavalry under Anrep, he renewed the attack with success, but lost his brave and esteemed associate. At the same time, a party of dragoons assaulted the town, and brought off many prisoners, and the whole baggage of Bernadotte, including the money and many valuable articles, said to have been purloined in Germany. On both sides, the killed and wounded nearly amounted to 4000.

Weary of that repose which the winter seemed to enjoin,



Bonaparte made preparations for a grand attack. Beningsen, who obtained this unexpected information from a captive officer, drew up his army in array of battle in a very unfavorable situation; but, making a second choice with less constraint, he endeavoured to anticipate the enemy in the seizure of Allenstein. In advancing to this post, the leading troops were exposed to a severe fire from a wood in their front; and the left wing obstinately contended at the bridge of Bergfried with a superior force. Failing in his immediate object, the general summoned Lestocq to his aid, and retreated to the neighbourhood of Prussian Eylau. The rear-guard seemed to be in danger of being overwhelmed in its march: yet it found an opportunity of taking a position at night. Near Landsberg it repelled the encroaching enemy; but by pursuing the advantage, involved itself in great peril, until a reinforcement enabled it to check and confound the efforts of its numerous assailants.

It was an object of earnest deliberation, whether the Russians should continue their retreat, or risque the consequences of a general engagement. Beningsen was disposed to think that an avoidance of the offered battle would be much more prudent and advisable than the risque of a calamitous defeat. There was a probability of support from Austria and Great Britain; and a length of time was required for a complete organisation of the means of hostility, a full developement of the Russian resources. But the idea of retreating was so offensive to the feelings of the officers, and of the army in general, that their commander resolved to put their courage to a renewed test. Being particularly desirous of saving Königsberg, he selected the country about Eylau as the scene of action. By a misapprehension of his orders, that town was suddenly evacuated; and it was instantly seized by the enemy. The captors were soon dislodged by a fierce attack; but another party took possession, planted artillery in the streets, and defended the place until the redoubled vigour of the Russians drove out the intruders with great slaughter.

The Russians, to the amount of 65,000 men, were drawn up in an open space of uneven ground, bounded for the most part by woods. Some heights, on which batteries were placed, appeared in their front. The first line consisted of four divisions of infantry, in small columns, and the second of one compact mass: the wings were protected by the cavalry, some parts of which were also arranged in the line. The town was not included in the points of defence, having been quitted

by the troops when Barclay de Tolli had received a severe wound amidst his efforts for the preservation of the post. Apprehending an attempt to pierce the centre from the town, the general strengthened his reserve ; and while he in some measure weakened his right by his new dispositions, he trusted that the arrival of the Prussians would secure him on that side.

The ground which the French occupied was so far elevated as to command the position of their adversaries ; and it also favoured them by affording intermediate spaces of shelter and concealment. About 85,000 men composed their force. Their first object was to turn the Russian right ; but the troops employed in that service met with such strenuous opposition, that they fled in great disorder ; and from a village which they had seized, they were driven with loss and disgrace.<sup>13</sup> An assault upon the centre was equally unsuccessful ; but the enemy took revenge for these repulses by a heavy fire of artillery, which made great havoc among the exposed ranks of the Russians. Serpallen, a village that fronted the left, was attacked by several strong columns ; and its defenders being constrained to retire, set fire to it, and rejoined the rest of their division. Amidst the obscurity produced by the smoke of the burning houses, and by a heavy fall of snow, six columns advanced toward the Russian line, and had almost reached it, when the returning light became sufficient for a display of their movements. Beningsen immediately advanced to meet them ; and so resolutely did his men sustain the assault, that the intimidated foe retreated in confusion. During the storm, a regiment of cuirassiers had penetrated between the centre and the left ; but they were encountered in their bold career by the Cossacks and hussars, and only eighteen of the number escaped. The left wing still contended against a superior force, and could not avoid the danger of being turned ; and the centre, being subjected to a renewal of attack, gave way in disorder. This unexpected transition from the hopes of victory to the prospect of defeat, alarmed the general and his officers, who anxiously deliberated on the means of stemming the torrent.

When the flying artillery had been brought forward with some effect, the long desired appearance of Lestocq removed all apprehensions. He advanced with his particular division and two Russians regiment, and reached the right wing, with which he had been ordered to co-operate ; but, receiving new

13. On the 8th of February.

instructions, he hastened along the rear to the left, and found the enemy in possession of a village, which it was necessary to storm before he could effectually relieve the harrassed wing. All who occupied this post were killed or taken; and the confederates, marching in two lines against a numerous column, and reserving their fire for a close conflict, poured such effective volleys, that 3000 of the enemy, dead or wounded, soon covered this part of the field. The left had by this time resumed a bold attitude, and repelled the troops which had nearly triumphed. But the battle was not yet closed: for the general was so unwilling to suffer the hostile occupancy of Schloditten, a post on his right, that he ordered it to be attacked at night with the utmost vigour; and his wish was speedily accomplished. Both armies now desisted from action after a lavish waste of blood. About 20,000 of the allies, and probably 25,000 of their opponents, were killed or wounded.<sup>14</sup>

In a council of war, it was debated whether the Russians should keep the field, endeavour by another attack to secure the victory, or retreat toward Koningsberg. The last proposition was adopted, not because it was the wish of the majority, but in consequence of the scarcity of ammunition, and also of that want of sustenance which had concurred with fatigue to leave the troops nearly in a state of exhaustion. The retrograde march commenced during the night; but, after a short respite, hostilities were resumed, and Murat's cavalry suffered a repulse. So severely were the French harrassed by the light troops, that they requested an armistice, which was refused. A separate pacification with Prussia was also proposed; but no attention was paid to the insidious offer.

The leader of the invading host had conceived the hope of precluding the return of the Russian army within its frontiers; but he had exposed himself to such loss in the attempt, that he retreated to the Vistula, abandoning a part of his artillery and baggage. Advancing as he receded, the allies continued to molest his detachments; but they were sometimes in danger of being overpowered. At Ostrolenka and Braunsberg, obstinate combats took place: in one of these actions the Russians sustained a rude shock; in the other, the Prussians were repelled with considerable loss. During these partial contests, Bonaparte prosecuted the war in Silesia with less vigour; sent orders to France and to the dependent governments, for considerable accessions of force; and directed his attention to the

<sup>14</sup> Wilson's sketch of the Campaign of 1807; and the Appendix.

acquisition of Dantzic, which he ordered marshal Le-Fevre to invest.

While one great division, consisting chiefly of foreign troops, conducted the siege, the principal army formed, as it were, a distant investment of the besieging force,<sup>15</sup> which, being thus watched, did not presume to neglect its duty. To the ordinary operations of a siege, bombardment was at length added. The defence was animated and resolute, and some spirited *sorties* inflicted mischief on the enemy, whose vigour and perseverance, however, threatened to frustrate the hopes of the garrison. A holm, or small river island, which was occupied by Russian troops, harrassed the besiegers by the fire of its redoubts; but the defenders were surprised by colonel Aime, and overpowered.

Kamenskoi, son of the field-marshal, was detached by sea, with a select body, to prevent the ill consequences which might arise from the capture of the holm. Landing near the fort of Weichselmunde, the troops advanced along the right bank of the Vistula, and stormed a triple line of entrenchments in a wood; but, when they had passed through it to a plain, their progress was stopped by the exertions of a superior force, which received continual accessions from the opposite bank. They commenced a retreat, when the assaults of cavalry were added to those attacks which had already made a serious impression. They rallied at the wood, and checked their pursuers. Being again driven back, they were followed into the wood, but cleared it by the use of the bayonet. They were finally repelled by a furious cannonade, which they had not the means of returning. Some British vessels were ready to assist, if the wind would have permitted their advance against the stream. About 2000 men were killed or wounded in this abortive attempt; and many lives were also sacrificed in a feeble enterprise of intended co-operation, on the part of the Prussians.

Having made gradual advances, and taken menacing positions, the besiegers made preparation for an assault: but, to avoid the extremity of outrage, general Kalkreuth, May 20. and the garrison consented to a surrender. The troops were allowed to retire with their arms and baggage, under a promise of not serving against the French for one year. As Le-Fevre calculated that the place might have been still

<sup>15</sup> But it could not, as a periodical historian inaccurately states, form a *semicircle* around the corps.

defended for some weeks, he condescended to grant a capitulation which was deemed honorable by military men.

The loss of Dantzic was a serious misfortune to the allies, by whom more vigorous measures of relief ought to have been pursued : but it seemed rather to animate than repress their subsequent efforts. General Beningsen, directing his view to the position of marshal Ney, entertained the hope of defeating him, and of attacking Davoust in the sequel with equal effect. Feints were made at Spanden and Lomitten, against Bernadotte and Soult, whose attention was engaged for many hours, while the real attack was pointed at Gutstadt, Wolsdorff, and other posts. An impression was so far made upon the troops of Ney, that they were driven from the Aller ; and, on the following day, they were encountered at Deppen, in the front by prince Bagration, and in the rear by Platoff, whose active and intrepid followers, swimming across the Parsarge, confused the enemy by an impetuous charge : but the result of the whole scheme was not so advantageous as might have been expected ; and, in leading to a general engagement, which might more prudently have been avoided, it was highly injurious to the cause of the confederate princes. 2877

As soon as Napoleon was informed of the repulse of Ney, he resolved to advance with a great force ; while the Russian commander retired toward Heilsberg, his march being protected by prince Bagration on the left, and by the Cossack chief on the right. The light troops fiercely contended in their progress ; and all the efforts of the French could not defeat the rear guard. In moving toward the Russian entrenchments, the enemy attacked the prince's division with such impetuosity, that it would have been crushed without the arrival of succour : but he was enabled by a seasonable aid, to make an orderly retreat. The French left took possession of a wood ; and batteries were planted which began to play upon the whole extent of the lines. Advancing at all points to meet the storm, the Russians and their associates resisted a most formidable force with all the vigor of habitual courage. They lost an outwork, but quickly recovered it, and maintained, at the close of the battle their extended position : but 7000 of their number were killed or wounded. The French suffered far more severely.<sup>16</sup>

16 Wilson's sketch.—Sir Robert calls this defence a *victory* ; but by admitting that it " had not an influence beyond the moment," he annihilates the claim. A victory implies much more than a repulse, or a momentary prevalence.



Notwithstanding this gallant defence of the lines, Beningsen was diffident of his security in that position, in which the French by constructing bridges over the Aller, might encompass his army, and preclude the means of supply and subsistence. Apprehending that Koningsberg was threatened by a particular movement which a reconnoitering party discerned, he strengthened Lestocq's division, and sent it to protect that city. The French endeavoured to intercept this detachment; and some battalions and squadrons were destroyed or captured by the vigilance of Soult; but the town was for a time secured. In the mean time, the army proceeded to Schippenbeil; whence, as it did not afford the capability of a position, a forced march was made to Friedland. This town was already occupied by a body of French cavalry, whose retreat was the immediate consequence of a brisk attack.

In the late battle, the corps of general Oudinot had suffered greater loss than any other grand division of the army. As the remains of his force were reported to be at a short distance, unsupported, Beningsen sent a detachment, soon after day-break, to obtain (as he imagined) an easy victory. June 14. Only a small force at first appeared; but gradual accessions swelled it to a considerable army; for the divisions of Lasnes and Mortier, and other troops added their strength to the assaulted body. Speedy support was therefore required, to rescue the endangered corps; and the greater part of the Russian army successively reached the scene of action. The French were more advantageously posted; and the seizure of Heinrichsdorff gave to their left a prospect of turning the opposite wing: but an attempt for that purpose was so vigorously resisted, that the advancing columns fell back in confusion. In a contest with the Russian left, also, the French were warmly pressed; and many of their battalions took refuge in a wood, from which a fruitless effort was made to dislodge them. The cavalry took part in the action; and the Russians were particularly successful in a *rencontre* with the cuirassiers.

Although Beningsen had too small a force to oppose with effect the increasing army of Napoleon, who was advancing (as he said) to put an end to the war, he ordered 6000 men to cross the Aller, and seize Allenburg, that his retreat to Wehlau might not be intercepted. The separation even of that small number materially diminished his hopes of success in the dreadful collision which he expected on the arrival of the celebrated warrior, who, when the early cannonade reached his

ears, exclaimed, "This is an auspicious day; for it is the anniversary of the battle of Marengo." For thirteen hours, the battle had raged with little intermission; and when he brought up his aggregate force, he made new arrangements. To Ney he assigned the command of the right wing; Mortier conducted the left; and Lasnes communicated his master's orders to the central body. The first of those generals began his operations by opening a formidable battery. He quickly silenced a small battery, which had been planted on the opposite bank of the river; and repelled by a reserve of dragoons, all the attempts of the cavalry to turn his wing. The Russian guard, boldly moving forward in defiance of his artillery, endeavoured, by the forcible impression of the bayonet, to shake the firmness of his leading column: but the troops, with the aid of a part of his powerful reserve, repelled the attack with great slaughter. As the town was unfortified, it was quickly forced; and the streets were covered with victims. The Russian centre, however for some time withstood the impetuosity of the enemy, who, animated by the advantage of a commanding superiority of number, rushed to the charge with eager alacrity.

If the leader of the French had taken a comprehensive view of the situation of the adverse army, he might, in the opinion of some experienced officers, have involved it in total ruin. He might have sent a strong division to the right bank, which was so defenceless, that a retreat might thus have been rendered impracticable; and a renewed attempt to turn the right would probably have been successful, when that wing and the centre were insulated by the capture of Friedland. But he was content with the efficacy of direct assaults and obvious hostilities, which at length enforced the retreat of the whole Russian army. It was conducted with a degree of order which could hardly have been expected under such discouraging circumstances. "The rear-guard (says the general) checked the career of the foe, until all the troops had crossed the Aller.<sup>17</sup>

17. He adds, that the army filed off over a bridge, which was exposed to the hostile fire; but sir Robert Wilson says, that the Russians destroyed the bridges during the battle, and, after marching along the left bank until the pursuers had desisted from action, discovered a ford, which allowed a difficult passage. The fact seems to be, that the general passed over the ordinary town-bridge with his left wing, and that the rest of the troops forded the river. Speaking of the number of killed and wounded, the military author limits it to "10 generals, 509 officers, and 12,000 men," on the side of the Russians; while the French who suffered were at least 7,000, beside officers. Both parties could boast of prisoners. The Russians, by his account lost only 17 pieces of cannon, instead of eighty,—the number stated in the 79th French Bulletin.

The first consequence of this defeat was the surrender of Königsberg. Lestocq had defended the town against some fierce assaults; but, when he received intelligence of the disastrous conflict, he left the inhabitants to their fate, and retiring with small loss, joined the unfortunate commander on his way to Tilsit. The next result of the battle was an application for an armistice, with a view to a speedy pacification. So severe was the shock of misfortune to the feelings of the king, that his faculties seemed to be suspended. He struck his forehead in silent despair, and paced the streets of Memel, unconscious of public observation. The queen felt an equal acuteness of anguish; but, being more collected, she gently took his arm, and withdrew him from the anxious gaze of the sympathising throng.<sup>18</sup>

When the French had reached Tilsit, an armistice was readily granted at the request of the Russian general, who consented that the Niemen should be the boundary between the armies during the intended negociation. A separate truce was adjusted with the Prussian monarch, whose fortresses of Colberg, Graudentz, and Pillau, not being yet taken by the besiegers, were to remain in the same state. On the invitation of Napoleon, who wished to exert all his address for the seduction of Alexander from the paths of honour and political virtue, an interview took place between those potentates upon a raft in the middle of the river. Each prince, accompanied by five generals and courtiers, reached the raft from the opposite bank at the same moment; and those who had so lately aimed at the ruin of each other, embraced with an appearance of cordiality. They conversed for two hours in a pavilion; and the artful ruler of France displayed, in such glowing colours, the joys of extended power, and held out such an attractive prospect of the advantage, which might be derived from an union of counsels with the great empire, that Alexander, who, in his attack upon the Porte, had shown himself not destitute of ambition, listened with pleasure to his new adviser, and was ready to rush into an odious and disgraceful alliance. June 25.

For twenty days, the two potentates resided at Tilsit, where they were occasionally visited by the king of Prussia, who, when he objected to some parts of the proposed treaty, was insulted with a hint of his not being entitled to the honour of consultation, as he had been so completely conquered. He replied, that he was not fairly conquered, but was betrayed

by reputed friends, and abandoned by perfidious subjects. July 7. The treaty with Russia was first signed. Alexander consented to the spoliation of his Prussian ally, to the erection of the kingdom of Westphalia, and the augmentation of the dominions of the Saxon elector, in the settlement of whose frontiers he received an accession of territory, which, however, was not very considerable. He acknowledged the confederation of the Rhine, and the royal titles of Joseph and Louis Bonaparte. He promised to withdraw his troops from Moldavia and the neighbouring provinces, and to accept the mediation of France for a treaty of peace with the grand seignor. He also agreed to some secret articles, by which he connived at the usurpations and encroachments of Napoleon, from the Atlantic to the Vistula, and from the Mediterranean and the Adriatic to the British ocean, and allowed himself to domineer over Sweden, to influence the politics of Austria, and direct an ambitious eye to the imbecility of Turkey.

In granting peace to the king of Prussia, the conqueror deprived him of more than a third part of his dominions, transferring his provinces between the Elbe and the Rhine to Jerome Bonaparte, to whom the territories of the elector of Hanover, the duke of Brunswick, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, were also assigned, with the title of king of Westphalia. To the elector (or the king) of Saxony, the greater part of Prussian Poland was given, with the title of duke of Warsaw; and the city of Dantzic was restored to nominal independence, under the protection of that prince and of the Prussian government. As a proof of the humiliation to which Frederick was reduced, the free use of a military road was granted, through his remaining possessions, to the Saxon Prince. The dukedom of Warsaw was to be governed according to a constitution which should "secure the liberties and privileges of the people, and be not incompatible with the tranquility of the neighbouring states." A code was soon framed in pursuance of this stipulation. It provided for the establishment of a general diet, consisting of a senate and a representative assembly. The king was authorised to nominate the senators, to the number of thirty, if he should be so disposed; but at least eighteen were to be appointed; while the nobility and the towns were to elect 100 deputies. All religions were declared to be free, under the predominance of the catholic faith. Individual slavery was abolished, while the king and his ministers were slaves to the great Napoleon.

Peace was not yet fully restored to the continent. The Swe-

dish monarch did not act with the martial vigour of the twelfth Charles : but his zeal, in some measure, supplied the place of talent. Stralsund was defended against the efforts of the French, who were harrassed by spirited *sorties* ; and, when the siege was raised with a view of strengthening the army employed in the reduction of Dantzic, the Swedes molested the retiring troops with considerable effect. But when, by too wide an extension of their line, they had furnished the enemy with opportunities of seizing various posts, and capturing a multitude of men, their commander agreed to a truce, which the king on his arrival at Pomerania, did not strictly observe, because it was not adjusted with his consent. In a conversation with general Brune upon this topic, he stated the necessity of opposing the aggressive violence of Napoleon, who acted as the scourge of Europe. He animadverted upon the illegality of the existing government of France, and forcibly recommended the interest of the lawful king, whose standard, he said, the people were bound both by duty and interest to follow. When Brune asked, where was that standard, Gustavus replied, "You will always find it with me." He advised the general to adopt the cause of legitimacy and justice, and spoke of the glorious opportunity, which had been offered to Bonaparte, of acquiring immortal fame by the restoration of Louis : but he could not expect that the officer whom he addressed would yield to his remonstrances, or desert, without strong hopes of success, the usurper to whom he had sworn allegiance.

The zeal of Gustavus was so fervent, that he even proposed to the Russian minister an expedition to France, with a great army of confederates, for the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon ; a suggestion which only excited ridicule, as at that time even his Britannic majesty disclaimed the idea of contending for the interest of the exiled family. He was so unwilling to suspend hostilities, that he exposed his troops to great danger by a rash attack : but they effected their escape to Stralsund, after sustaining and inflicting great loss. He rejected, after the peace of Tilsit, the offered mediation of Frederick, and expressed his conviction that, in signing a treaty with Napoleon, he should subscribe his own ruin both in this world and in the next. In defending the town, after the renewal of the siege, he pretended to rely upon supernatural aid, which, he said, he was persuaded to expect by Jung's explanation of the Apocalypse : but, notwithstanding the spirited exertions of the garrison, his confidence was shaken by the



dread of bombardment or an assault; and he retired with his army to the isle of Rugen, leaving a confidential officer in the town, not to dictate his will to the ruling council, but to assist in procuring favorable terms for the inhabitants, who were content however to surrender at discretion. He left the island, also, to hostile occupancy.<sup>19</sup>

The treaty of Tilsit led to an armistice between Russia and the Porte, but not before another naval engagement had occurred, in which the Turks severely suffered. It was agreed that the prisoners and captured ships should be mutually released; that the Russians should relinquish all their conquests; and that if peace should not result from depending negotiations, hostilities should not recommence before the ensuing March.

By an article of the late humiliating treaty, the Prussian ports were closed, not only against all British vessels, but even against neutral ships sailing from the ports of this island or of the colonies; and no subjects of Frederick were allowed to send merchandise to Great Britain by any mode or channel whatever. This and other acts of compliance and subserviency, were required, on the part of France, by insult and injury. Troops were left in the territories which the king was permitted to retain, and military arrogance, rapine, and outrage, convinced the unfortunate Prussians that they had been conquered by the basest of mankind. Fortresses which ought to have been restored were still occupied by the perfidious captors; and pretended friends, acting as determined foes, exercised the most abominable tyranny. Such were the effects of imprudence and precipitancy, in the conduct of a monarch whose general character was respectable: but no other enemy than Bonaparte would, in the midst of civilized Europe, have thus treated a vanquished prince.

<sup>19</sup> Sketch of the reign of Gustavus IV.

## LETTER IX.

*Survey of the Affairs of Great Britain, including a War with the Danes, and a Contest with the United States of North-America.*

NO ministers, perhaps, ever more disappointed the public expectation than the statesmen who lost their power by their zeal for the support of the catholic interest. They had long been considered by the public as men of talent and ability; and some of them by a part of the nation were believed to be patriots, because they boldly claimed that praise for themselves, and freely censured the conduct and system of the court. Like Pultney and other apostates of the preceding reign, lord Howick and his chief associates, except the Grenville party, recanted their popular tenets, and became converts to the established creed of ministerial policy. They abandoned all thoughts of that reform which they had pronounced to be necessary for the welfare and security of the country: they rendered still more oppressive that odious impost which had alarmingly increased the difficulty of procuring ordinary support by honest industry; they extended beyond all bounds of moderation, the chain of patronage, and wantonly encouraged the claims of rapacity; and, by their parliamentary tone and manner, they insulted the feelings of those who suffered under their sway. The expeditions which they ordered were ill-judged and ill-conducted: they had no regular plan of action; and their boasted talents were unaccompanied with political wisdom. Yet, for the chief feature of their administration, the abolition of an infamous traffic in human blood, they deserve high praise; and, if we consider their determined perseverance in this object, and the clamor and obloquy to which they were exposed by their zeal, they are even entitled to our admiration.

The chief successors of the retiring ministers, in the treasury and admiralty, were the duke of A. D. 1807. Portland and lord Mulgrave: Mr. Perceval, a barrister, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer: the secretaries of state were the lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh, and Mr. Canning; lord Eldon again became chancellor; and the other members of the cabinet were the earls Camden and Bathurst,

the earls of Westmoreland and Chatham. Some of these courtiers were qualified to shine in parliamentary debate : some did not even possess that capability ; and, perhaps, not one of the whole number could be justly considered as an accomplished statesman. Yet as they filled the places of men who had forfeited their popularity, their administration, however faulty and imperfect, however courtly and corrupt, seemed to content the majority of the nation.

As the pledge which the king had demanded from his late ministers did not appear to be strictly constitutional, one of their friends took an early opportunity of submitting it to parliamentary consideration, by arguing that an acquiescence in such a restriction was contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the crown. The question was warmly debated ; and the proposition was so plausible, that the new directors of the national affairs could only procure a majority of thirty two votes against it. In another trial of strength, they had a greater preponderance ; but they were so apprehensive of being checked and thwarted in their operations, that they advised their sovereign to exercise his prerogative, in a dissolution of the parliament, as they confidently expected to obtain a signal triumph by such an appeal to the sense of the people. The renewal of contests and commotions, so soon after a general election, drew acrimonious animadversions from the disappointed party ; but the measure was far from being unjustifiable, and was by no means displeasing to the public.

In the short session which followed the new elections, nothing memorable occurred : but the new ministers soon excited the public attention in a remarkable degree, by an expedition of an extraordinary nature. In the speech by which the two houses were prorogued, a hint was given of the expediency of counteracting "the undiguised determination of the enemy to employ the means and resources of those countries which he possessed or controlled, for the purpose of effecting the ruin of this kingdom." Upon what country the storm of British indignation or policy would first fall, the public could only conjecture ; for the object of the new armament was studiously concealed by the ministry, until the ships of war and transports had made a considerable progress in a northern voyage. It was then discovered, by political inquirers, that Great Britain intended to exercise its mighty power against the feeble resources of Denmark.

In justification of the proposed enterprise, it was alleged,

that his majesty had "received the most positive information of the determination of the ruler of France to occupy, with a military force, the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from all her accustomed channels of communication with the continent; of inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against the British commerce and navigation; and of availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion" which he had long meditated. But, as these assertions were not established by proof, mere surmises and suspicions could not justify that outrageous assault which inflicted all the horrors of war upon an inaggressive nation. This resort to sanguinary extremities could only have been excused, if the addition of the means of annoyance, possessed by the neutral state, to the force of the enemy, appeared to be so important and powerful, as to menace the third state with total ruin: but even the most sensitive and timid politician could not apprehend that result from the incorporation of the Danish navy with the reduced marine of France. The attack was so unjust that no high-minded statesman would have listened for a moment to that sophistry which could only throw a flimsy veil over the deformity of the scheme. It was, however, not merely vindicated, but even applauded, by courtly senators; for such is the modern degradation of the logical science, that it is more frequently exercised in confounding virtue and vice, and in varnishing immorality and injustice, than in enlightening the minds of men; and political logic and morality are very different from correct reasoning and legitimate ethics.

Of the formidable armament which was prepared for this enterprise, lord Cathcart and admiral Gambier were invested with the concurrent command. The troops made a descent, without the least opposition, between Elsinour and Copenhagen; and, as the proclamation which the invaders issued, in the name of their *most gracious* master,<sup>1</sup> did not either soothe or overawe the Danish court into implicit acquiescence, hostilities arose as soon as the enemy approached the capital. The Danish government, referring to the menaces thrown out by Mr. Jackson, the English envoy, and to his demand of passports, declared its intention of resisting all attacks, and ordered the seizure of British ships and property. The fire

<sup>1</sup> However undisputed might be the applicability of this epithet to the general demeanor of our sovereign, the unfortunate Danes could not be expected to consider the allusion as particularly seasonable or appropriate. A little delicacy of expression would not have been incompatible with the manly courage and "gallant bearing" of the united commanders.

of gun-boats did not materially obstruct the progress of the troops along the coast, or the preparations for a bombardment; and the occupants of different posts near the city did not act with vigour or success. At length the town was invested both by sea and land; and general Peymann, the governor, was summoned to surrender the fleet, after the defeat of a body of Danes at Kiøge by sir Arthur Wellesley, who captured above 1100 men. The request of a short delay, that the king and his son, who were then on the island of Funen, might be informed of the requisition, was treated with contempt; and the pretended friends of Denmark commenced a furious bombardment of the city, which was soon perceived to be on fire. During four days these violent operations, sometimes indeed intermitted from an affectation of lenity, marked the hostile spirit of the English. A desire of capitulation was then manifested by the Danes, who did not wish to see the destruction of their metropolis. About 2000 persons had already lost their lives, and 500 houses were reduced to a ruinous state; and the flames were rapidly spreading when the governor proposed Sept. 7. a negotiation. It was agreed, that all the Danish ships of war,<sup>2</sup> and the naval stores belonging to the king, should be delivered up to the associated commanders; that the citadel should be occupied by a British garrison, until the removal of the vessels; that the property sequestered by the Danes should be restored; that the citizens should not be in any respect injured or molested; and that the civil and military officers should retain their authority.<sup>3</sup> Content with the possession of the chief fortress, lord Cathcart, who observed that the people were in a state of high irritation, promised that his troops should not be quartered in the city, and left the gates in the custody of the Danish soldiers. After a delay of six weeks, during which the popular ferment did not seriously explode, the ships and stores were brought away, and another power was thrown into the arms of France.

The expedition to the Baltic accelerated the effect of the treaty of Tilsit. Alexander issued an acrimonious declaration, Oct. 31. accusing the British monarch of neglecting the interest of Russia, of molesting her commerce, and harassing a friendly power with unprovoked hostilities; and he renounced all connexion with a court which could be guilty of such injustice, intimated the revival of the armed neutrality,

<sup>2</sup> Namely, eighteen sail of the line, and fifteen frigates.

<sup>3</sup> London Gazette Extraordinary of September 16.



demanding satisfaction both for himself and the Danes, and desired that a speedy pacification might be concluded between Great Britain and France. Our sovereign, in return, displayed equal *hauteur* and asperity. Having declared war in form against Denmark, Tuscany,<sup>4</sup> Naples, Ragusa, and the Ionian islands,<sup>5</sup> he vindicated his conduct by contrasting it with that of the emperor, who, instead of prosecuting that course which his honour and interest pointed out, had degraded himself by a mean subserviency to France. He re-proclaimed those principles of maritime law which he had formerly enforced; and, while he wished for the preservation of peace with Russia, he defied her animosity and indignation.

Another power to which the royal speech referred, as being too weak to preserve its independence, or maintain a dignified neutrality, was Portugal: but such circumstances occurred, as rendered it unnecessary, even in the opinion of the ministry, to seize the navy of that realm. As it was the object of the treaty of Tilsit to reduce all the powers, except the contracting parties, to a state of submission, arrogant menaces were thrown out against those states which seemed unwilling to adopt the continental system, or to comply in every respect with the will of Napoleon. It was required from the prince regent of Portugal, that he should exclude all British vessels from his harbours, arrest the subjects of our sovereign, and seize their property. He readily promised to enforce the first demand; but objected to the other points, because a sense of honour, and a regard to the law of nations, forbade the exercise of such injustice. Arguments, drawn from systems which had been exploded by Napoleon, were not calculated to dissuade him from his purpose; and he peremptorily renewed his arbitrary requisitions. The prince, having in vain endeavoured to procure a modification of the demands, seemed disposed to yield; but he privately gave notice to British subjects of the danger to which their continuance in Portugal would expose them; and the majority took an early opportunity of retiring with their property. A transfer of the court and government to the Brazilian territory, in the case of extreme danger, had

4 In consequence of some new arrangements in favour of the sovereign of Tuscany (called king of Etruria by the French,) that territory had recently been seized by order of Bonaparte, and declared an appendage of his empire.

5 These, with Bocca di Cataro, were surrendered to the French after the treaty of Tilsit.

long before been an object of anxious consideration ;<sup>6</sup> and the prince, being apprehensive of the seizure of his person, if the French should invade the realm, was disposed to listen to the advice which had been repeatedly given to him, and to emigrate to a distant province, which he trusted, would afford him repose and security. Lord Strangford, the British minister at Lisbon, had acquiesced in the prohibition of commerce ; but he opposed all further compliance with the “unprincipled demands” of Napoleon ; and, when the orders of detention and confiscation were issued by the prince, who then seemed more inclined to unite himself with the continent of Europe, than to retire to South America, sir Sydney Smith instituted a rigorous blockade at the mouth of the Tagus, after the retreat of the offended envoy to the squadron. Concluding that this act of hostility would intimidate the prince, his lordship returned to Lisbon, and proposed the alternative of a surrender of the Portuguese fleet, or of employing it in the conveyance of the most distinguished part of the nation to a Brazilian port. He easily persuaded the regent to abandon all thoughts of continuing in the peninsula. A French and Spanish army, commanded by Junot, had already entered the kingdom. Bonaparte had declared that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign ; and, as the prince did not wish to provoke the English by conciliating the tyrant, he announced his intention of keeping his court at Rio de Janeiro, until a general peace should be concluded. Having nominated a council of regency, he prepared for his departure. His fleet consisted of eight ships of the line, and four frigates : a number of armed mercantile vessels also attended the retiring court ; and the British squadron escorted the whole armament. The scene was interesting : it was viewed with regret by the natives, who were at the same time pleased to find that an asylum was open to the endangered family and its faithful adherents ; while the invaders, posted on the hills, observed the retreat with joy, considering the kingdom as left to their mercy.<sup>7</sup>

The conquest of Portugal was an easy task. Junot took quiet possession of the capital ; and this base adventurer, who had risen from the lowest rank, began to act as sovereign of

6. The idea was not altogether new. Dr. Smollett, the historian, formerly recommended to the British nation, if the danger of ruin should arise, a retreat to its colonial territories in North America ; and the Rev. Mr. Boucher, during the war with revolutionary France, pointed out the eventual expediency of taking refuge in the East Indian dependencies of the state.

the realm. He practised tyranny in every form ; but plunder was his chief object. By his own unsanctioned authority, he exacted from all prelates, beneficiaries, and monastic superiors, a contribution of two-thirds, and, in some cases, three-fourths of the produce of their lands and funds ; seized the church plate and sent it to the mint : ordered all householders at Lisbon and Oporto to give up a moiety of their rents to the state ; required, from the owners of land, a duplication of the tax which they annually paid for that species of possession ; and insisted upon the redemption of all British property. Of these and other spoils, he reserved a twentieth part to himself, not for the immediate purposes of splendour, luxury or comfort, but as the foundation of future opulence. To avoid or diminish the danger to which these injuries and insults exposed the invaders, he sent into France a considerable part of the Portuguese army, and disbanded the rest, even prohibiting the occasional use of fire-arms. For disobeying this arbitrary order, many of the natives were imprisoned ; and nine were put to death at Caldas.<sup>8</sup>

While the remains of the family of Braganza sought refuge beyond the Atlantic, the head of the house of Bourbon found protection in Great Britain. Alarmed at the confederacy which had been organised at Tilsit, he despaired of security upon the continent ; and therefore resolved to retire to an island which he had reason to deem impregnable, and in which the known character of the people ensured to him a friendly reception. He sailed in a Swedish frigate to Yarmouth, with his two nephews, and other persons of hereditary distinction, and was permitted to reside in any part of the kingdom. After occasional visits, and changes of abode, he fixed his residence at Hartwell, in a house belonging to the marquis of Buckingham : but he supported his family and household from his own resources. He styled himself the count de Lisle ; and, although the king of Sweden had treated him with the honours due to royalty, he modestly declined, in this country, any other respect than that which was due to a private nobleman. His hopes of actual sovereignty were then faint or visionary ; but, amidst the varied contingencies of life and fluctuations of fortune, even that consummation of his wishes did not appear absolutely hopeless.

In this critical state of affairs, the British parliament re-assembled. The speech with which the session was opened, was unusually long ; and it may

Jan. 21, 1808.

<sup>8</sup> Elliot's Defence of Portugal.

readily be supposed that it excited extraordinary attention. It gave a sketch of the political history of the period which had elapsed from the prorogation. The violence which had been exercised against Denmark was declared to have been solely dictated by views of self-defence against eventual hostilities, as it was the object of the ruler of France, when the result of the negotiations at Tilsit had confirmed his influence and control over the continental powers, to employ in the invasion of this kingdom the naval force of those states which did not presume to resist his arbitrary will. To prevent the execution of such a scheme, said the framers of the speech, became the indispensable duty of his majesty. In the case of Denmark, it was a painful service; but the fleet of Portugal was happily secured from the grasp of France without the intervention of force.—The recal of the envoys of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, the repugnance of the Porte to a pacification, the refusal of the American president to ratify a commercial treaty which had been regularly concluded, and the general attack upon the British commerce, were noticed with displeasure and regret, but without that intemperance of resentment which the sovereign of France would have evinced on similar occasions.

It was reasonable to expect, that the expedition to Copenhagen would be severely condemned by different speakers. In both houses its injustice was strongly exposed; but the ministerial orators eagerly defended the measure; and some of them were not ashamed to ridicule the application of the rules of morality to the course of public affairs. They wished to explode the old maxim, that honesty is the best policy, and seemed to think that whatever is apparently expedient is necessarily just. This corruption of principle was deplored by Mr. Windham as a strong symptom of national degeneracy.

Warm debates also arose from the orders which the council had issued with regard to trade and navigation. Napoleon's ordinance against the British commerce had not been generally enforced for many months after the denunciation: but, when he had triumphed over Prussia, and, on pretence of sharing power with the emperor of Russia, had in a great measure reduced that prince to a state of subserviency, he resolved to carry the continental system into full effect. The British government had taken an early opportunity of retaliation, by ordering,<sup>9</sup> that no vessel should be permitted to trade from one port to another, belonging to France or its allies, on pain of seizure and condemnation. This prohibition being frequently

<sup>9</sup> On the 7th of January, 1807.

evaded, the council issued a new order, when the French had for some time enforced the decree of Berlin. All neutral traders, who intended to proceed to France or to a dependent or subservient country, were required to stop at a British port, and pay a duty proportioned to the value of the cargo; and to retaliate that menace of blockade which the French had not the power of executing, all the ports and places in Europe, from which the British trade was excluded, and all the colonial ports of the enemy, were subjected to the same restrictions, as if they were actually blockaded. It was also ordained that such neutrals as should be found to have accepted, from French agents, *certificates of origin*, declaring that the articles which composed the cargo were not British produce or manufactures, should be punished with the loss of the vessel and its contents; and another order imported, that the practice of transferring ships by pretended sales to neutrals should not secure them from capture. Nov. 11.

The rage which the enemy of our commerce felt at these proofs of British spirit, could not be restrained within the bounds of princely decorum. He compared the council to an Algerine divan, and exclaimed against the insolent injustice which dared to overawe and plunder independent nations; and he declared, in a decree which he issued at Milan, that all ships which should be searched by a British vessel, or should pay any tax whatever at the requisition of our government, were *ipso facto* denationalised, and having thus forfeited their original and distinct character, might be lawfully captured wherever they could be found. This species of hostility could not be exercised without an injurious effect upon our commerce; and as the neutral powers were in a great measure deterred from external traffic, the merchants murmured at the consequences of this warfare. Dec. 17.

The president of the United States of North America complained, more acrimoniously than the rulers of any other neutral state, of the *orders in council*, as the new regulations were styled. Between that republic and the British court, for many years, little harmony had prevailed. Mutual jealousy had marred the friendliness of intercourse. The English imputed to the Americans a predilection for the French, and were in their turn suspected of arbitrary views and of an encroaching spirit in the assertion of their supposed maritime rights. After frequent disputes, a new commercial treaty had been signed, allowing greater favours to the Americans than any former



convention had secured to them; but it was previously declared, that, if Bonaparte should enforce his scheme of blockade, and a decree "so novel and monstrous in substance" should meet with acquiescence on their part, the concessions would probably be revoked or altered. As this agreement did not adjust every disputed point, and as the qualifying declaration left an opening for evasion, it was not ratified by the president. Amidst other causes of disgust, an attack, provoked only by the refusal of the captain of a frigate to submit to a search for deserters, roused all the warmth of indignation, not only for the supposed affront, but for the loss of lives by repeated broadsides; and a proclamation was issued, commanding the immediate retreat of all British armed vessels from the harbours and waters of the United States, and prohibiting future entrance, with an exception of cases of distress, arising either from the dangers of the sea or from hostile pursuit. Whether the embargo, which was the next effusion of discontent or of resentment on the part of the Americans, *preceded* or *followed* their knowledge of those orders which the new cabinet sent forth, has been doubted. The opponents of the ministerial system maintained the latter point; and, indeed, there seems to have been a sufficient interval for the notice of those anti-neutral edicts. However that may be, a bill received the sanction of the Congress,<sup>11</sup> calculated to prevent the departure of any mercantile vessels from the ports of the republic, and to exclude all foreign traders.

This was the state of the contest, when the orders in council were loudly condemned by the lords Erskine, Auckland, and Grenville, by Mr. Whitbread and other able speakers, who argued that the pretended submission of neutrals to the decree of Berlin had not been proved; that it was unjust to punish them, as if they had grossly violated the law of nations; and that the effect would be as injurious to Great Britain as to any other state. On the other hand, the regulations were plausibly defended by lord Castlereagh and sir John Nicholl, as politic measures of retaliation, necessary for the maintenance of our maritime rights, and conducive to the serious distress and probable humiliation of the enemy; and they were legalised by an act, which, however, was not destitute of various exceptions and modifications.

The return which the court had made to the mediation of Austria and Russia, formed another topic of debate. Francis, in the preceding spring, had addressed a note to each of the

11 On the 22d of December, 1807.

belligerent powers, recommending a reconciliation with apparent earnestness ; but he only received evasive answers. He repeated his solicitations in the autumn, as far as Great Britain and France were concerned : yet the effect was nugatory. Between those powers, the mediation of Russia was offered, in consequence of the treaty of Tilsit, which the French pretended, had been concluded with the most sincere views of universal pacification. Alexander declared, that he would not have agreed to a separate peace, if he could have procured the co-operation of Austria in the war, and have depended on that assistance which his British ally could so easily have afforded : but, as the promised diversion upon the continent had been neglected for enterprises which had no reference to the common cause of Europe, and as even a loan which he wished to negotiate at London had not been facilitated by the government, which, after long hesitation, only offered a very inadequate subsidy, it only remained for him to look to the glory and the security of his empire ; and, as he had adjusted all his disputes with Napoleon, he hoped for an opportunity of re-establishing a maritime peace upon equitable principles, promising the support of his whole force for ensuring the due performance of all the stipulations which might compose the treaty. His Britannic majesty expressed his readiness to avail himself of the offered mediation, if it should seem probable, from an inspection of the treaty, and from a knowledge of the principles upon which France was inclined to negotiate, that a secure and honourable peace might be obtained. As the desired communication was not afforded, no negotiation arose from the delusive overtures of Russia ; and, when the Austrian court proposed that plenipotentiaries should be sent to Paris, the request was not productive of any favorable result, because it was not stated that the ruler of France had authorised such a proposal, or that he had any intention of admitting the allies of Great Britain to a participation of the treaty.

It was contended by Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Sheridan, that the conditions stipulated by the ministers for the acceptance of the Russian and Austrian mediation were inexpedient and impolitic, and that nothing which appeared in the existing circumstances of the war ought to preclude his majesty from commencing a negotiation on a basis of equality ; but all suggestions of this kind were treated with contempt ; and, indeed, the late conduct of the French despot did not countenance any strong hopes of negotiatory success.

Near the close of the session, the affairs of Spain attracted the notice of the orators of both parties, and excited unusual interest among the people : but as the subject merits distinct consideration, I shall reserve it for another epistle.

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## LETTER X.

### *History of Spain.*

WHILE the nations of the continent were insulted with the most arrogant tyranny, and degraded by the most ignominious servitude, no immediate hopes of rescue or relief were generally entertained : yet, to the discerning few a glimmering ray appeared in the western horizon, which seemed to penetrate through the gloom, and to hold out the prospect of a renovation of light.

It was the earnest wish of the French emperor, not only to extend his personal influence, but to aggrandise his family in every possible mode. The languor and imbecility of the Spanish government, and the evident decline of the power and vigor of that monarchy, suggested to him the idea of an usurpation, and seemed to ascertain the facility of its accomplishment. If he had been as prudent as he was ambitious, he would have remained content with the power of dictating to the court of Madrid, in the great points of war and policy : but he wished to secure a more complete and permanent sway, by the erection of a new dynasty. With this view, he studiously fomented the dissensions in the Spanish cabinet, and encouraged the animosities of party. The artful activity of his emissaries, aided by the intrigues of malcontent natives, at length produced a crisis which favored his insidious and malignant purpose.

The exorbitant and mischievous influence which Godoy, the prince of Peace, had acquired over the weak mind of the king, disgusted Ferdinand, the heir apparent ; and this prince more particularly resented his exclusion from all con-

cern in the administration. His discontent was inflamed by the insinuations of the French ambassador Beauharnois; by whose advice he rejected the proposal of the court for his marriage with one of his relatives, the minister's sister-in-law, and secretly addressed a letter to Napoleon, offering his hand to any disengaged lady of the imperial family of France. His tutor Escoiquiz also recommended this degrading alliance; but the offer was treated by the tyrant with contempt.

This clandestine correspondence, and the nomination of the duke del Infantado as chief commander of the army in the event of the king's death, furnished Godoy with a pretence for accusing Ferdinand of treasonable machinations; and the prince was arrested, imprisoned, and menaced with a criminal process: but the rising indignation and murmurs of the people, and the submissive behaviour of the royal prisoner, prompted his father to order his liberation.<sup>1</sup>

To secure the subserviency of Charles and his favorite, and facilitate the seizure of the monarchy, Napoleon concluded, at Fontainebleau, a treaty for the dismemberment Oct. 27, 1807. of the adjoining realm. It was stipulated, that the northern division of Portugal should be transferred to the king of Etruria, and the southern part to the prince of Peace, under the guaranty and protection of his catholic majesty; that the middle portion should remain in sequestration, for future disposal; and that the colonial territories of the same crown should be divided between France and Spain. By a separate convention, 28,000 French were permitted to march through Spain to Lisbon; but a much greater number, commanded by Murat, embraced the opportunity of intrusion; and being favored by Godoy, who looked forward with pleasure to his promised principality, they obtained admission into some of the strongest towns of the kingdom. These movements filled the king with apprehension; and his fears were not removed by the progressive disclosure of Napoleon's views. His envoy Isquierdo informed him, that he was expected by his powerful ally to resign, for the benefit of the French empire, the provinces situated between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, in return for a more commanding influence in Portugal than the late treaty allowed him. The emperor hoped to intimidate the feeble prince into a retreat from his kingdom to his colonial dominions; and Charles seemed to be disposed to

<sup>1</sup> *Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de la Revolution d'Espagne, par M. Nethert.*—Paris, 1814.

follow the example of the prince of Brasil; but the people so loudly exclaimed against his supposed intention, that he promised to remain with them and share their fate. Not satisfied with this assurance, the malcontents of Aranjuez resolved to wreak their vengeance upon the obnoxious minister, whose life, however, they spared at the intercession of Ferdinand. When he had been deprived of his power and imprisoned, his harrassed sovereign became dejected and despondent, and, not expecting to reign in tranquility, declared his intention of resigning his crown. His son did not dissuade him from his purpose, but readily accepted the offered royalty, and was proclaimed king by the designation of Ferdinand VII.<sup>2</sup>

Mar. 19, 1808. Murat, who had concluded that the royal family would speedily retire from the kingdom, was advancing to Madrid, to take a decisive advantage of a conjuncture which was apparently so favourable to the views of his treacherous employer, when he received the unwelcome intelligence of the elevation of Ferdinand to the throne. Continuing his march, he entered the capital before the arrival of the new king, whom, without the formality of acknowledgement, he amused with a demand of the sword of Francis I. By procuring from Charles a declaration of the invalidity of his resignation, which, he said, had been extorted from him by the dread of personal violence, he endeavoured to propagate discord in the state, and to arm against the son the friends of the father; and, amidst the eventual confusion, he hoped to draw into his power every individual of the unfortunate family. He advised Ferdinand to send his brother, don Carlos, to meet Napoleon, who was daily expected in Spain; and general Savary, assuming the character of an accredited envoy, exhorted the young king to take the same step, assuring him that he would be immediately recognised by the gratified emperor as the lawful monarch of Spain. Yielding to artful importunity, Ferdinand left the administration to his uncle, don Antonio, and repaired to Vittoria, whence he dispatched a letter to the arrogant master of his fate, complaining of the disrespect with which he had been treated, and requesting a removal of all doubts with regard to the intentions of his imperial majesty. The answer to this epistle was evasive and unsatisfactory; but, as the dictator

<sup>2</sup> *Memoires, par Nellierto, chap. i.*—The council of Castile disputed the legality of the abdication; but the new court authoritatively silenced all objections.



expressed a desire of being acquainted with all the particulars of the late abdication, Ferdinand, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Don Pedro Cevallos and other prudent and cautious advisers, resolved to proceed to Bayonne. The loyal inhabitants of Vittoria in vain endeavoured to prevent his departure, which, they apprehended, would lead to misfortune and ruin. He blindly pursued his course, and found the emperor ready to receive him.<sup>3</sup>

The result of this imprudent journey was such as the credulous prince might have expected. After an entertainment which was preceded and followed by exterior marks of friendship, Savary intimated to him the emperor's irrevocable determination, that the Bourbon family should no longer reign in Spain, and insisted upon his renunciation of all pretensions to the crown, in consideration of an indemnity which would be provided for him in some other country. Disgusted and incensed at the insolence of the general and the injustice of the treacherous Corsican, Ferdinand declared, that nothing but the will of his father and of the nation should induce him to relinquish his claim. In a conference between Escoiquiz and the minister Champagny, the kingdom of Etruria was offered to the Spanish prince, whose refusal of the contemptible exchange was pronounced to be a sufficient ground for his exclusion from every inheritance and from all territorial advantages. He still remained firm, and was therefore watched and guarded as a prisoner of state.

In the mean time, Murat domineered over the Spaniards with all the arrogance and cruelty of a low-bred adventurer. He insulted don Antonio and his political associates, encouraged his soldiers to acts of outrage, and imputed to the natives all the guilt of unjustifiable aggression. Being ordered to send Ferdinand's brother Francis to Bayonne, he prepared an escort for that purpose; and, when some of the inhabitants of Madrid had merely cut the traces which fastened the horses to the carriage, the French brutally fired upon the May 2. crowd. In the progress of the tumult, according to the lowest enumeration, 104 Spaniards lost their lives, and 54

3 An unknown patriot had informed him, before he left Madrid, that it was the intention of Bonaparte to put an end to the Bourbon government in Spain; and don Joseph de Herbas, brother-in-law to the emperor's favourite, Duroc, warned him of his danger, declaring that the seizure of his person was the determined object of the repeated invitation to the frontiers: but Infantado and Escoiquiz advised him to trust to the honor of a potentate who had professed a high regard for the royal family, and a strong wish to promote the interest of Spain.

were wounded;<sup>4</sup> but it is more probable that the number of victims rose to 1700.

Being allured by promises of favour and friendship, or intimidated by menaces, Charles and his queen presented themselves before the emperor at Bayonne. They expressed their displeasure at the conduct of their eldest son, whom they ordered to renounce all the rights which he had claimed on pretence of an extorted resignation. Ferdinand promised that he would obey this command, if his father would return to Spain, and govern without the advice of ministers whom his people detested. When Charles had answered this intimation by severe reproaches, rather than by rational arguments, his son proposed a reference of the dispute to the *cortes*, or general assembly of the realm. Each prince had his partizans; but, as the father had devoted himself to the French interest, all true patriots, and the majority of the nation, favoured the son's pretensions. The former, having again declared that he would resume the exercise of the royal functions, commissioned Murat to act as a viceroy; and the council of Castile sent orders into every province, superseding the authority of Ferdinand.

The weak prince who thus pretended to resume his power, soon after disgraced himself by renouncing the sovereignty of Spain in favour of Napoleon, who engaged to pension the fugitive family, to preserve the indivisibility of the kingdom, and not to allow any other religion than that of Rome.  
May 5. The prince of Peace, whom Murat, in opposition to the popular wish, had restored to liberty, was the negotiator of this treaty, by which he procured for himself an asylum in France.

Ferdinand's courage and resolution at length gave way to the terrors of tyrannic power. He had sent instructions to his ministers to commence hostilities against the French, as soon as intelligence of his forcible removal into the interior of France should reach Madrid; but, when he was informed of the late massacre in that city, he unconditionally resigned the royal

<sup>4</sup> Such is the statement given by the council of Castile; and it is added, that 35 were missing. Neller to includes in this account those who were subsequently shot in the Prado, by the orders of a court-martial, without discrimination or inquiry: but, when the conduct of a ruffian adventurer is in question, it is not difficult to believe, that 320 persons (as a Spanish author affirms) were coolly sacrificed to military law, with a view of striking terror into the multitude. Murat, desirous of gratifying the thirst of blood with which his master was inflamed, boasted that while only 25 of the French were killed on this occasion, some thousands of the insurgents perished. This calculation is perhaps beyond the truth; and that of the council is evidently so low, as to exclude far the greater part of the murdered patriots.

dignity, first to his offended parent, and afterward to the vile oppressor of his family.<sup>5</sup>

Exulting in this success, Napoleon proceeded to the completion of his atrocious scheme. Treating with contempt the remonstrances of the council of Castile against the validity of extorted cessions, he desired the members to select a king from his family. In compliance with his well known inclinations, they made choice of his brother Joseph. The administrative *junta*, and the municipality of Madrid, concurred in the nomination: the cardinal primate, nephew of Charles III., promoted with base servility the degrading appointment; and many reputed friends of the excluded family were equally ready to yield to the torrent. Thus encouraged, the emperor declared Joseph king of Spain, and summoned to Bayonne the principal subjects of the monarchy, for the adjustment of a new constitution. Ninety-one persons of distinction obeyed the arbitrary mandate, and at their first meeting, acknowledged the new king with apparent cordiality. June 15. He gratified some of the late ministers with re-appointment; and even Cevallos, who had endeavoured to prevent Ferdinand from falling into the snare that was laid for him, consented to act in the new cabinet.

The constitution was brought into a regular form in the eleventh meeting. It left, as might have been expected, too great a degree of power in the hands of the king. The ministers were declared to be responsible for the execution of the laws, and of the royal commands. Persons of distinction nominated by the sovereign, from the number of thirty to sixty, were to compose the council of state; and twenty four, selected from that body, and from the official departments, were to form the senate. It was determined, that the *cortes* should consist of 150 members, two-sixths being spiritual and temporal peers, named by a writ under the great seal, and two-thirds being popular representatives, who were to be deputed by the provinces, the universities, the principal towns, and the merchants. The elections for the first class were to be in the proportion of one to 300,000 inhabitants; and it was ordained that the assembly should have at least one session in three years, but might be dissolved at the king's discretion. All its deliberations were to be private; and no votes or opinions were allowed to be published either by the whole body or by individual members. Alterations in the civil or criminal code,

or in the financial system, could only be proposed by the orators of the council of state. If the majority should disapprove the conduct of the court, they were permitted to petition the king for the punishment or dismissal of evil counsellors ; but this privilege was of little moment, as the investigation of the imputed delinquency was to be referred to twelve courtiers, who would rather favour than condemn an accused minister. The provincial privileges of Navarre, Biscay, Guipuscoa and Alava, were allowed to subsist, until the cortes, at the first meeting, should order some modification. With these exceptions, it was decreed that the civil code should be uniform over the whole kingdom, and that all exclusive or peculiar jurisdictions, and all privileges contrary to the general law, should be abolished. It was declared, that personal liberty should be respected, and that no person should be confined without the authority of a legal warrant, stating the reason of the arrest. But the benefit of these and other regulations, however imperfect, were not to be immediately enjoyed by the people ; for the various edicts were to be successively promulgated in the course of four years.

The article which declared the crown hereditary in the family of Bonaparte, was a gross and unpardonable insult to the nation. He who derided such a claim, when it was advanced by the descendant of a long line of princes, could not, without the most glaring inconsistency, demand an acquiescence in the incipient pretensions of his own race. On what ground (it may be asked for the sake of argument) was the claim urged in this case ? The answer is,—on the basis of a formal renunciation from Charles IV. and the heir apparent. But those princes had not even a shadow of right to consider the monarchy as a private estate, or transfer the people, like cattle, to the government of a stranger ; or, even if they were justified in such conduct, their renunciations could not in any respect bind their posterity. The national will alone, expressed without the influence of force or terror, could sanction a change of dynasty or of system. To say that the partial and irregular assembly at Bayonne had a right to order so fundamental a change, is an assertion which no just reasoning can verify or establish ; and to represent the general submission of the constituted authorities as a confirmation of the claim of Napoleon or of Joseph, is almost equally absurd. The intimidated assembly at Bayonne merely submitted, with exterior formality, to the will of a tyrant, who had a powerful army ready to perpetrate every atrocity. For the honour of Spain, the same

meanness of submission was not exhibited by the great body of the nation. The nobles who remained at home, and persons of the middle class, confounded at the late massacre, did not, indeed, immediately venture to oppose a numerous horde of ruffian intruders, whom they were unprepared to resist with effect; but they manifested their sentiments before the usurpation was fully organised at Bayonne: and the populace and peasants also endeavoured to repress the indignation which arose in their minds, while they waited for an opportunity of vigorous exertion: but this acquiescence, extorted by temporary intimidation, was merely a calm before a storm. It did not bear the marks of that content which usually accompanies the exercise of legitimate authority: it concealed angry passions which struggled for vent, and to which a casual check gave additional fervency and strength.

That patience, which the natives evinced for some weeks after the massacre, at length yielded to a general burst of indignation. The people rose in various parts of the country; imprisoned many Frenchmen, and put some to death; and murdered several provincial governors and magistrates, who did not appear to be sufficiently zealous in the cause of national independence. When this rage had subsided, the desire of a regular administration was manifested; and all who had good sense and moderation wished for such a settlement as might remedy the disorders of anarchy, direct and concentrate the efforts of the nation against the daring and inhuman enemy, and secure the throne for Ferdinand, or some other prince of the house of Bourbon. On this memorable occasion, as the means of defence were more abundant in Andalusia than in any of the other provinces, the magistrates and principal inhabitants of Seville took the lead. They made choice May 29. of a *junta* (an association or council) for the government of that division of Spain; proclaimed the sovereignty of Ferdinand the Seventh; and declared war against Napoleon and the French. The example was speedily followed in all parts which were free from the terrors of a foreign army; but, although its good effects were generally acknowledged, the want of a supreme junta for the whole kingdom was felt as a serious inconvenience; for the influence of the council of Seville, even while it conciliated the frequent acquiescence of other administrative bodies, could not be deemed equivalent to the regular authority of an united or general government.

At this critical period, when the Spaniards, apparently without a directing head, and in a state of federalism which did



not promise a strict unity and concert, were contending with the uncontrolled master of a powerful empire, who could add, to the great resources of his own nation, the armies and treasures of dependent states, the war seemed to assume an unpromising aspect, unless powerful aid should be afforded to the menaced patriots. They stated their danger and their exigencies to the court of London,<sup>6</sup> to the Portuguese, Swedes, and Austrians; and the zeal which animated the subjects of Great Britain, in favour of a nation struggling for liberty, held out the prospect of friendly interposition and effective succour. Lord Collingwood offered the aid of his fleet for the capture of five French ships of the line at Cadiz; but his assistance was declined by don Thomas Morla, the governor, who, knowing that his countrymen were capable of this enterprise, ordered an attack with a *flotilla*, supported by batteries, and compelled the French Admiral to surrender his squadron.

In those provinces which were not occupied by French troops, a great part of the adult population eagerly offered military service to the different juntas. A supply of arms and money transmitted from England, proved very useful on this occasion; and a multitude of Spanish prisoners of war, released and sent back by the indulgence of our government, seasonably reinforced the patriotic armies. The regular troops were not so numerous as the conjuncture required; but it was hoped that the deficiency would be amply supplied by new levies, and by the gradual extension of discipline. Partial conflicts occurred in various scenes of action: the enemy waged war with the most malignant ferocity; and many French stragglers were killed by the peasants. An attack of Valencia, directed by Marshal Moncey, was repelled by general Caro, with a great slaughter of the assailants. The Spaniards were less fortunate in the battle of Medina del Rio Seco, being defeated with considerable loss by the superiority of the hostile cavalry: but their success at Baylen inspired them with the most lively joy. Dupont, who had 8000 men at Andujar under his command, had retired to Baylen to effect a junction with Belliard, who had an equal number. Castanos, with an army chiefly

6 The first application to this court came from the principality of Asturias; and the address stated, that the representative assembly, to which the entire sovereignty had devolved, lamenting the captivity of Ferdinand and disdaining the idea of submitting to the yoke of a foreign tyrant, had taken up arms in defence of the country; and expressed a firm hope, that a consideration of the dreadful consequences which would flow from the unbounded ambition of the ruler of France, if he should be suffered to usurp the throne of Spain, would concur with a spirit of generosity to produce the speedy transmission of succors from Great Britain. It was dated from Oviedo, May 25, 1808.

composed of Andalusians, amounting to 25,000 mén, of whom only one half could be denominated a regular force, obstructed the views of the French general, who, thus provoked, July 20. rushed upon the natives with the most furious impetuosity. They firmly sustained the shock, and drove back the disordered foe : they withstood other assaults with equal vigour, and, by reducing the French to the danger of destruction, drew from their discouraged commander the proposal of a capitulation. During the conference, Wedel, who came up with 6000 men, attacked a Spanish division which had not yet participated in the action, and made some impression ; but the continuance of the battle was prevented by the assent of Dupont to a demand of unconditional surrender. Wedel's *corps* did not incur the same disgrace, being favoured with the permission of a speedy return to France by maritime conveyance.

On the day of this defeat, the usurper entered Madrid with all the pomp of royalty : but he was not saluted by the people with those acclamations or marks of respect which they would gladly have given to Ferdinand, or to any prince who had been the object of national choice. He seemed, however, to think that he was securely established upon the throne, as his knowledge of the mighty power and influence of his brother would not suffer him to apprehend that the Spaniards would dare to depose him. The lustre of the great empire, and the fame of its fortunate ruler, would, in his opinion, dazzle their eyes, and excite that awe and reverence which would ultimately ensure submission. But he had not long indulged these contemplations, when the intelligence of Dupont's surrender reached his court. Being menaced with a visit from the army of Valencia or of Andalusia, and hearing of the determined spirit of the Arragonians, he resolved to retire from the capital. He plundered the treasury, seized the crown jewels, and robbed the palaces of the most valuable part of their portable contents ; and then retired to Burgos, to await the course of events.

As the captain-general of Arragon, either being a traitor in his heart, or despairing of the success of defensive efforts, had attempted to disarm the people, he was seized and imprisoned by the indignation of the citizens of Saragossa ; and they conferred the chief administration and command upon don John Palafox, who, although he had no military experience, was known to possess courage, and supposed to be capable of governing. The soldiers whom he found in the city did not, it is said, exceed the amount of 220, and the provincial treasury was nearly exhausted : yet, trusting to the spirit and en-

ergy of his countrymen, he ventured to declare war against the invaders of Spain. The inhabitants and the neighbouring peasants, ill provided with arms, were hastily initiated in the discipline of the camp; but they were unsuccessful in several conflicts which they risked with a superior enemy. Not discouraged, the citizens resolved to persevere in their patriotic efforts; and they so bravely defended the out-posts and the town itself, that the assailants were repelled, and those who had forced their way within the walls were massacred. During the respite which was procured by this success, the governor made the best dispositions for sustaining a siege that a total want of regular fortifications would allow, and wandered over the province in search of regular troops. He found some parties of militia, and about 1300 soldiers who had escaped from Madrid; but, being met by a greater force, he was exposed to the danger of ruin, which he escaped by the prowess of his gallant band. The siege of the city was at length formed by general Le-Fevre, two eminences in the neighbourhood being seized by the enemy, who hoped soon to prevail over all opposition.

To maintain a place which had no admitted pretensions to defensibility, seemed to be a hopeless task: yet it was resolutely undertaken by the Arragonian patriots. Batteries and entrenchments were formed near the gates: holes were made for musquetry in the mud walls, and in buildings which flanked the walls or supplied the deficiency in the circuit; and every arrangement that promised to be useful, however imperfect, was eagerly adopted. The monks manufactured gunpowder, and prepared cartridges. Even the women cheerfully assisted in such labors as did not exceed their strength; and the children were not wholly unemployed. While the French were gradually prosecuting the encompassment of the city, skirmishes, attended with various success, arose in the adjacent olive woods. Succours were introduced in defiance of the besiegers; but the completion of the investment at length precluded all farther accessions of strength. The explosion of a powder magazine made some havoc in the town; but the cannonade and bombardment proved more destructive. Two of the nine gates, being assaulted with great fury, were defended with such determined vigor, that the enemy retreated in confusion, after considerable loss. A foundling hospital, full of the sick and wounded, caught fire; but this calamity, instead of producing dejection, only called forth all the exertions of sympathy for the rescue of the endangered inmates. A large

conventual edifice was also fired; and such an opening was made as served to admit the besiegers, who, impetuously forcing their way, became masters of one half of the city. Of one of the widest streets, each party occupied one side, and the fire from the opposite batteries filled the intervening space with unfortunate victims. When ammunition began to fail, a considerable convoy unexpectedly arrived, which was introduced by the governor's brother, who was accompanied by 3000 men. The defence was now continued with such spirit, that the French possessions were reduced to an eighth part of the town. Appalled by this obstinate resistance, and by a report of the march of a strong body from the Valencian province, the enemy relinquished the siege, when a great part of the city had been destroyed or severely damaged.<sup>7</sup> Aug. 14.

At the same time, the spirit of self-defence animated the subjects of Portugal. Their zeal particularly displayed itself at Oporto, where the inhabitants rose *en masse*,<sup>8</sup> at the signal of bell-ringing, seized and imprisoned all the Frenchmen whom they could find, and nominated an administrative body, of which the bishop was declared president. Lieutenant colonel Brown, being ordered to procure the most correct information respecting the state of affairs in the north of Portugal, was highly pleased at the assurances, which he received from the patriotic prelate of the effervescent zeal of the people, who were determined to expel their enemies from the country; and he, in return, gratified the bishop with a promise of speedy and ample succours from Great Britain. He was informed that the French force in Portugal did not exceed 15,000 men, exclusive of auxiliaries; and it was stated, on the other hand, that, in the northern province, the defensive force amounted to 25,000, who were not, however, completely armed. While he was prosecuting his inquiries, a French division, under La-Borde, advanced from Lisbon to the northward, and took a strong position at Roliga. Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had been sent to the Tagus with about 8000 men, and had been joined by major-general Spencer with 5000, soon found an opportunity of displaying his skill and valor. Being reinforced by Portuguese troops, he marched against the enemy; and, sending some brigades to fall upon the right, while the native soldiery endeavoured to turn the left, he more particularly superintended the attack of the centre. The mountainous passes which were

<sup>7</sup> Vaughan's Narrative of the Siege.

<sup>8</sup> On the 19th of June.

bravely defended, were all forced ; but the French retreated in good order, the paucity of cavalry preventing a pursuit.

A more important conflict quickly followed. Sir Arthur had been joined by two fresh brigades ; and Junot had collected his whole force. The first attack was directed upon the Aug. 21. British centre, which was strongly posted on an eminence to the southward of Vimeiro. Both parties made great use of their artillery ; but that of the defending party proved more effective and mischievous ; and the vigour of the bayonet at length repelled the assailants, who were at the same time flanked by a *corps* which then came up to its post. They were pursued in their retreat by lieutenant-colonel Taylor and his dragoons ; but they turned upon this detachment with such fury, that this officer and many of his men lost their lives. On the left, the troops were exposed to a most impetuous attack, in which a large body of cavalry concurred. They firmly withstood the onset, and put their opponents to flight. A part of the retiring division, suddenly facing about, endeavoured to recover the artillery which had been seized ; but the attempt was fatal to many of the number, and fruitless to the rest. About 600 men were killed or wounded in this engagement, on the side of the victors ; but the French loss was far more severe.<sup>9</sup>

The French commander, aware of the approach of another army, resolved to propose a cessation of hostilities ; but, as he was too feeble to cope with his adversaries, it was their duty and interest to crush him, not to favour his escape. Lieutenant-general Dalrymple, however, who assumed the chief military command after the late victory, was so pleased with the opportunity of delivering Portugal from the ravages of the enemy, that he not only granted an armistice, but, by a subsequent convention,<sup>10</sup> agreed to the unreasonable demands of the vanquished host. He alleged his ignorance of the “ actual state of the French army, and of many circumstances of a local and incidental nature,” in vindication of his assent : but, as it was easy for him to procure information from sir Arthur Wellesley and other officers, that excuse was idle and frivolous. He also mentioned, in his own defence, the importance of gaining time for the prosecution of the war in Spain, which would have been neglected during the operations requisite for

<sup>9</sup> Letters from Lieutenant-general Wellesley, in the London Gazette.—Letters from Portugal and Spain, by Adam Neale, M. D.

<sup>10</sup> Negotiated at Cintra, and signed at Lisbon.



subduing the French in Portugal, as they possessed some strong posts which might have been long maintained. — But the army, instead of profiting by the time which was gained by the convention, suffered three months to pass before any advantage was afforded, or even attempted to be given, to the cause of the Spanish patriots.

In the convention which was concluded between Aug. 30. the opposite armies, it was stipulated, that all the places and forts, occupied by the French troops in Portugal, should be surrendered; that these invaders should quit the kingdom with their arms and baggage; be conveyed to France in British vessels, and be allowed to serve wherever their government might wish to employ them; that all subjects of France or of powers in alliance with that nation, who were resident in Portugal, should remain unmolested in their persons and property; that none of the natives should be harrassed or called to an account in consequence of political opinions or public conduct; that no arrears of contribution or requisition, pretended to be due to the French, should be allowed; that all the Spanish soldiers within the kingdom should be given up to the British general, who should endeavour to procure, in return, a release of all French subjects detained in Spain for political causes; that an immediate exchange of prisoners should take place between the French and Portuguese; and that the magazines should be applied to the use of the retiring troops. It was not intended that the departing soldiers should carry away the treasures of the churches or other ill-acquired spoils; and many, who attempted to bear off the fruits of their rapine, were obliged to resign them to the vigilance of the British officers. Even their leader, although he boasted of his elevated rank and splendid title, was not suffered to escape without such an inspection of his baggage, as exposed his villany to general notice, and led to a great defalcation from the stock of plunder which he was preparing to send on board.<sup>11</sup>

This agreement was accompanied with another convention, by which nine Russian ships of the line and a frigate were surrendered, with all their stores, to sir Charles Cotton, and not to be restored to the emperor before the conclusion of a pacific treaty between the prince and the British monarch: but the seamen and marines were treated with the same indulgence which the French received, and gratified with a conveyance to their own country, unfettered by restrictions of service. In

the preliminary armistice which Wellesley adjusted with Kellermann, the neutrality of the port of Lisbon had been stipulated with regard to this fleet: but the admiral, very properly, refused his assent to that article: yet he was too kind to the enemy in releasing such a multitude of effective men.

These conventions were not calculated to please a nation which looked with an anxious eye to the honour and dignity of the public service, and wished to see its resources usefully employed. Surprise, disgust, and indignation, were consequently excited; and the hopes of a strict enquiry were loudly and generally expressed. The corporation of London, partaking of the feelings which pervaded the country, stigmatized the military convention as disgraceful to the British arms, and injurious to the public interest; and when his majesty had given a harsh answer to the address which intimated that opinion, his displeasure did not check the freedom of remark. In compliance with the prevailing wish, an investigation was ordered; but the result was far from satisfying the public. Sir David Dundas, and six other field-officers, were induced, after an attentive examination of the disputed points, to declare, that no farther military proceeding was necessary on that subject, however some of them might differ in their sentiments respecting the "fitness of the convention in the relative situation of the two armies." A more explicit statement of their opinions being demanded by the duke of York, all, except the earl of Moira, intimated their approbation of the armistice; and four of the number decided in favour of the convention. The king, while he declined all ulterior inquiry, signified his disapprobation of those "articles in which stipulations were made, directly affecting the interests or feelings of the Spanish and Portuguese nations."

After a long delay, the British army, which had been elevated to the amount of 30,000 men soon after the battle of Vimeiro, marched into Spain under the command of sir John Moore, while the French troops were chiefly stationed in the provinces of Biscay, Navarre, and Catalonia; and, in the mean time, the Spaniards gave a greater energy to their government by the erection of a central junta for the whole kingdom.

The council of Seville, without professing to take the lead, distinguished itself by the patriotic advice which it gave to the other juntas, and to the nation. With regard to the succession, no question, said the members, could reasonably arise, while they had a sovereign whose right was indisputable, and who had brothers to inherit after his decease. Another ques-

tion had recently been agitated, which also seemed to them to be sufficiently settled by the very nature and origin of political communities. Doubts had been entertained, whether a necessity existed for the creation of a supreme civil government, which might unite the authority of all the provinces, until Ferdinand should recover his throne. The want of such a government would expose the nation to the miseries of anarchy, or to the rigors of military despotism; and due reflection, it was hoped, would soon convince every one of the necessity of speedy arrangements for the prevention of such evils. Many were of opinion that the *cortes* ought to be immediately convoked by the council of Castile: but this was an act of authority which that body had no right to exercise; and its conduct, in encouraging the late usurpation, was no inducement for the people to invest it with extraordinary power. None but the king could legally assemble the *cortes*; and, if any irregular or partial elections should take place, discord and division would be the result. The people had already acted in their general capacity, without regard to the particular towns which had long enjoyed the privilege of choosing representatives, and had created provincial juntas; but, as the authority thus granted required a superintending power, which might obviate the mischief of discordant measures, it was expedient that a supreme administrative body should be constituted; and the individuals who should compose it ought to be selected by the members of each junta from their own body. Two respectable persons might thus be chosen in each province; and these deputies might legitimately act as governors of the whole kingdom. A president might be appointed out of the number, not permanently, but for a very short term, that he might not have sufficient time for the acquisition of exorbitant influence or power.

These suggestions appear to have been the offspring of a laudable regard for the public welfare. But it may be contended, that a more constitutional mode of supplying the deficiency of the executive power, occasioned by the king's exile and detention, would have been afforded by the convocation of the *cortes*. The corporations which possessed the elective franchise might have chosen deputies; and the first step of the assembly thus formed might have been the appointment of a regent, or a supreme administrative body. The Juntas, however, did not adopt this measure, being inclined to prefer the advice of the Andalusian patriots. When two deputies had been named by each junta, except where the capital

of the province was occupied by the invaders, the majority of Sept. 25. the delegated number met at the palace of Aranjuez, and, after the solemnization of mass, took an oath for the maintenance and promotion of the catholic faith and system, the defence of the royal rights of Ferdinand, the preservation of established laws and usages, and the improvement of the general state of the nation. Advancing to the great gallery, the members then proclaimed the king, amidst the most lively acclamations of the assembled people. A short speech from the count de Florida Blanca, who acted as president, pointed out the path of duty; and the supreme junta began to exercise all the authority of the most regular government.

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## LETTER XI.

### *History of a War in the North of Europe, and of a Revolution in Sweden.*

WHILE the unjustifiable confederacy between Napoleon and Alexander exercised its pernicious influence in Spain and Portugal, Sweden also felt its mischievous effects. Among other arbitrary stipulations, it was resolved that Gustavus should be compelled to exclude all British vessels from his harbours. This demand was declared by the Russian minister to be supported by former compacts among the northern powers, by which they had agreed to an union of strength in defence of the Baltic: but the king replied that these compacts had ceased to be in force; and he would only promise to prevent the British court from sending ships of war into that sea.

It was not merely the subserviency of Alexander to the views of his new ally, but also his desire of adding the whole province of Finland to his empire, that prompted him to order an invasion of the Swedish territories. For the A. D. 1808. defence of Finland against this powerful enemy, the king only sent 9540 men into the field, while 6000 garrisoned Svenborg. Two of the frontier posts were not tamely yielded, even to the great superiority of the assailing force. The Russians endeavoured to prevent the northern troops from joining those of the south: but the valour of the Swedes so

far prevailed as to effect the desired union, and to check the advance of the foe, whom general Adlercreutz engaged with success at Sikajoki. Keenly resenting those hostilities which were not preceded by a declaration of war, Gustavus gave orders for the confinement of the Russian resident and consul, and threatened to banish from Sweden every subject of Alexander. As he suspected the intentions of the Danish court, he demanded from count Moltke an explanation of the views of his sovereign. The answer was a declaration of war, in which the king's base connivance at the attack upon Copenhagen was pointedly censured, and his renewal of alliance<sup>1</sup> with a power which could coolly perpetrate such outrageous injustice was severely condemned. He denied the former charge; yet he evidently approved the aggression; and he retorted the accusation of interested subserviency to Great Britain by a reference to the implicit dependence of Denmark upon Russia.

As the danger to which Sweden was exposed could not be effectually repelled by the unaided force of that nation, the king addressed a letter to his Britannic majesty, stating that he was attacked on every side because he was the friend of England, and requesting, in addition to the stipulated subsidy, speedy and powerful assistance. A promise of succour was readily given; and it was resolved that 10,000 men should be sent, under the command of sir John Moore; but the conditions annexed to this grant of aid were not altogether agreeable to Gustavus. They were to be recalled at pleasure, to have as little connexion as possible with the Swedish army, to be completely under the command of their own general, and not go so far from the coast as to lose the means of communication with the fleet. Instead of confining their operations to the defence of Sweden, the king wished to employ them in the conquest of Norway, or in an attack upon Copenhagen: but it was not thought necessary, by his more prudent ally, that his rash schemes should be adopted.

The campaign in Finland was unfortunate to the Swedes. After the reduction of inferior fortresses, the enemy obtained Svensborg by the treachery of the commandant, who had all the means of protracting the siege. Even the galleys in the harbour were surrendered, on the condition of their being restored to the king at the return of peace, if the Danish fleet,

<sup>1</sup> By a new treaty he was to receive 1,200,000 pounds for employing his whole army and a part of his fleet, during one year, against the French or their allies.



seized in the preceding year, should then be given up. This success was followed by the occupation of Aland and some other islands; of which, however, the intruders were soon dispossessed.

Disregarding all remonstrances against the invasion of Norway, the king sent a part of the western army into that country; but the troops only gained inconsiderable advantages, and could not long maintain themselves in that unproductive country. Being attacked by the prince of Augustenburg, they retired within their own frontier, and thought only of defence.

When the British army arrived, the zeal of Gustavus was re-animated, and he hoped to emulate the fame of Charles XII. He was now intent upon the conquest of Zealand; and, finding that the British troops were not allowed to assist him in such an enterprise, he resolved to prohibit their disembarkation, with a view of subduing the reluctance of their commander to the expedition. Not prevailing in this instance, he proposed a descent in Russian Finland; and, when sir John Moore refused his assent to the scheme, as it would only serve to give to Russia a multitude of English prisoners, he reverted to the Norwegian project: but the general condemned it as hopeless. The troops were still detained in the vessels, to their great inconvenience; for the inflexible monarch had declared, that he would not permit them to land, unless they should be subjected to his immediate command. Disgusted at this absurd pride and contemptible folly, sir John threatened, that he would return with the army to England, if a landing should not be allowed: but in an interview with the king, he so far yielded to the royal wish, that he promised to wait for new instructions from his court. Being accused of an unwillingness to act, he was induced to give way, that he might have an opportunity of testifying his desire of co-operation: but, having re-examined his instructions, he found that they did not authorise him to remain for so long a time as might elapse before fresh orders could arrive from Britain. This retraction of his promise so offended the king, that he commanded the general not to leave Stockholm without permission, or until the armament should be recalled by a particular order. A mandate so arbitrary, against an officer into whose conduct his sovereign alone had a right to inquire, roused the indignation of Mr. Thornton, the British envoy, who, in strong terms, complained to the president of the Swedish chancery, and demanded an instant revocation of the insulting order. On the other hand, an apology was required by his majesty; but, instead of sub-

mitting to this disgrace, sir John took an opportunity of escaping to Gothenburg; whence he quickly returned to England. Thus, from the want of mutual readiness of accommodation, the British armament proved useless, unless it should be maintained that its appearance in the north tended to over-awe the enemies of Sweden.<sup>2</sup>

While Gustavus was yet indignant at the inactivity and the departure of the British general, the envoy ventured to propose a negotiation between him and his adversaries; but the hint increased his displeasure. He even thought of proceeding to acts of violence against the English fleet in the Baltic. His ministers dissuaded him from such rashness, and reminded him of the subsidy by which the exigencies of the war were supplied. As it did not satisfy his wants, he resolved to solicit an augmentation of the grant; but his application proved fruitless. In requesting the recal of Mr. Thornton, he was more successful; for Mr. Merry was sent to supercede that obnoxious minister.

The war, in the mean time, was not wholly neglected. Attempts were made to dispossess the Russians of Abo and Vasa: but the smallness of the force employed in these enterprises obstructed their success. Several conflicts occurred, in which the Swedes displayed all their national courage; and, if the army had been respectably reinforced and well provided, Finland might perhaps have been saved. When count Klingspor requested permission to retire with the remains of the army, before the enemy's increasing strength should overwhelm the defenders of the country, the king answered that the Russians must be driven out; but he did not supply the means which were calculated to produce that effect. He was sufficiently encouraged to persevere by his innate obstinacy; and he derived additional confidence from some instances of partial success, from the unimportant advantages obtained by his galleys, and the retreat of the Russian fleet. Two British ships of the line, followed by the Swedish navy, had commenced an engagement which the enemy seemed desirous of avoiding. One of the Russian vessels, being disabled by the efforts of captain Martin, surrendered to sir Samuel Hood, who, not being able to bring it from the shore, set it on fire, but previously saved the crew. The rest of the fleet found security in the port of Rogerswick.

An expedition, which to none except the king, seemed pro-

missing or auspicious, was undertaken for the recovery of South Finland. The troops, not exceeding the amount of 2600 men, commanded by count Lantingshausen, landed at Waranpa, and proceeded to Lokalax, intending, in the event of early success, to join the baron Vegesack : but, while this officer was retreating with his corps, the count was attacked by the Russians ; and, being incapable of maintaining his position, he was glad to find refuge in the ships. An armament which sailed from Gefle met with a variety of disasters. The vessels were dispersed by an equinoxial gale ; and when the greater part had afterward re-assembled, confusion arose from a want of specific instructions, or from the contradictory orders which the king had given to different battalions. No portion of the army effected a descent in the southern part of the province ; and, of the troops which reached the north, a great number perished in consequence of cold, hunger, and fatigue, while disease made dreadful havoc in the crowded transports. An expedition to Helsinge was also attended with considerable loss, after the acquisition of temporary advantages.

The Swedes in North-Finland, for some time, firmly resisted the torrent which threatened to overwhelm them ; but the ample reinforcements which their adversaries received, so effectually precluded their hopes of success, that, in a convention for an armistice, they yielded to the demands of the Russian General, when he insisted upon the surrender of important stations.

While Gustavus breathed resentment and defiance against the Corsican and his imperial confederate, he was not disinclined to a pacification with the Danish monarch, to whom he made overtures for an alliance, promising to procure a restitution of his fleet : but the agent whom he employed in this secret negotiation was dismissed with an unfavourable answer. When the proposals of peace, emanating from the interview at Erfort, were communicated to him by Mr. Merry, he declared his unalterable resolution never to treat with the ruler of France, whose conduct, he said, provoked and justified all the perseverance of hostility ; and his resentment against Alexander was almost equally fierce and implacable.

As the continuance of the war menaced Sweden with subjugation or dismemberment, Mr. Merry was authorised to release Gustavus from every obligation which might seem to preclude a separate treaty, and to promise that, after the conclusion of peace with any one of his present enemies, his majesty would still remain his friend. This intimation roused the

anger of the irritable king, who, without consulting his ministers, sent an order, subjecting the British vessels in the harbour of Gothenburg to an embargo. He soon revoked the rash prohibition : yet he resolved upon a rupture with Great Britain, if he should find an opportunity of accommodating all disputes with the king of Denmark, whom he hoped to allure into a pacific treaty by this disclosure of his altered intentions. He had not despatched the letter which he had written to that effect, when he was informed of the transmission of proclamations, by means of balloons, from Zeeland to Scania, inviting the Swedes by plausible promises to an incorporation with the Danes. Inflamed at this attempt to seduce his people, he tore the letter in a transport of rage, and offered a renewal of his alliance with Great Britain, on the same basis of subsidiary agreement.<sup>3</sup>

The extraordinary conduct of this prince seemed to indicate mental derangement. He pretended to direct every branch of government, and yet could not properly regulate his own conduct even in the ordinary concerns of life. He affected all the ardor of military zeal, without possessing a sufficiency of courage to face an enemy. Incapable of conducting the wars, in which, by his own zeal or the injustice of France he was involved, he idly wasted the resources of his kingdom, and was entangled in difficulties which his limited intellect could not surmount. In levying troops, he thought more of the form and ornaments of the hat, the fashion of the coat, and other *minutiæ*, than of the most essential points. Inspired with all the pride of royalty, he exacted the most ceremonious observances and the most punctilious respect ; and thus exposed himself to the contempt of the discerning, in the vain hope of maintaining true dignity. He boasted of his regard for justice, and of the moderation of his sway, while he wantonly harrassed his soldiers, and impoverished and oppressed the people.

His misconduct was long attributed by the uninformed public to the incapacity of his ministers : but the truth could not always be concealed ; and discontent at length pervaded the nation. When it appeared that no losses or misfortunes could abate his zeal for a continuance of hostilities,—that the most absurd schemes were proposed for another campaign,—that even reports of the intended partition of Sweden did not subdue his obstinacy,—and that misgovernment was still the order of the day, —insurrection began to be considered as a sac-

ered duty, because it offered the only remedy for the disorders of the state. A party of malcontents, some of whom were men of rank and influence, held private meetings at Stockholm, to concert the means of rescuing the country from danger; and, after anxious consultations, it was resolved that Gustavus should be arrested, and lodged in a fortress, and that the duke of Sudermania should be requested to act as protector of the realm, until the states should be assembled. Notwithstanding the secrecy of the deliberations, it was soon known that an interesting scheme was in agitation; and the prospect of a political change animated the hopes of the citizens. So unpopular was the king, that none of those who suspected the machinations against him would warn him of his danger. Even a regiment of his guard promised to join the disaffected party; and it was not supposed that any part of the military force would resolutely act in his defence. Colonel Adlersparre harrangued the troops of the west, and procured their assent to his proposal of employing them in an enterprise calculated for the deliverance of their country. The report of their advance filled the king with terror. He shut himself up in his palace, and ordered all the avenues to the capital to be strictly guarded.<sup>4</sup>

Baron Adlercreutz undertook the hazardous task of arresting his sovereign. Count Klingspor, colonel Silversparre, and many other officers, were among his most zealous associates; Mar. 13. 1809. and, when he had given proper directions, he entered the presence-chamber, in consequence of an order for his attendance. He found the king preparing for his departure from Stockholm, with a view of opening the campaign; and began to remonstrate against that conduct which had excited the indignation of the public.—“You are all traitors,” exclaimed Gustavus; “and shall be punished.” “We are not traitors,” said the baron; “we only wish to save your majesty and our country.”—The king drew his sword, but was quickly disarmed. He raved with indignation, and loudly called for succour. When some of the guards and domestics came to assist him, the baron overawed them by his authoritative demeanor, and seizing the staff of office which the adjutant-general bore, enforced a speedy retreat. Leaving the king to the care of some officers, he ascended to the guard-room, and remonstrated against any attempt to rescue his majesty, as it would endanger his life, which

<sup>4</sup> Sketch of the Reign of Gustavus IV. Part iii.



otherwise was perfectly secure. The custody of his person being transferred at his request to the counts Ugglas and Stromfelt, he silently took a sword from one of these courtiers, ran out of the room, and was supposed for a time to have effected his escape: but he was overtaken by the keeper of his game, whom he slightly wounded in his eagerness to reach the only gate which was left unguarded. He was overpowered by several of his pursuers, and carried into an apartment, in which he remained quiet during the rest of the day.

No commotion arose in the city on this remarkable occasion; nor did the intelligence of the king's arrest rouse his friends to action in any part of the realm. The necessity of a change was so evident, that a ready and general acquiescence sanctioned the schemes of the malcontents; and the revolution was tranquil and bloodless.

The enterprising baron and his two chief associates, in an interview with the duke, expatiated upon the helpless state of the kingdom, and conjured him to exercise the functions of government. He had not engaged in the combination against the king; and, as he was declining in years and in health, he was not eagerly desirous of undertaking the arduous task of political regeneration: but he yielded to the persuasions of the associated patriots, and issued a proclamation, stating that, as his nephew was incapable of conducting the national affairs, he was induced to act as administrator of the realm, and would endeavour to accelerate the revival of commerce, and promote the restoration of peace and prosperity.<sup>5</sup>

After a short confinement at Drottningholm, the king was conveyed to the palace of Gripsholm, where he was treated with some marks of respect. As he found that the torrent ran strongly against him, and that all ranks aimed at his dethronement, he resolved to anticipate by abdication the vote of the states. He declared that the honour of the realm, March 29. and the welfare and happiness of a free people, had been the constant object of his pursuit; but that, as he could no longer exercise the royal functions according to the purity of his intentions, or preserve peace and order in the kingdom in a manner worthy of himself and his subjects, he deemed it a holy duty to resign the crown, being desirous of devoting the remainder of his days to the honour of God. He hoped that all who had been under his authority might enjoy the grace and blessing of the Almighty, and that more auspicious

<sup>5</sup> Sketch of the Reign of Gustavus IV.

times might gratify them and their posterity. Finally, he desired them to fear God and honour the king.

Peace was the first object of the new government. Von-Dobeln, who commanded the troops in Aland, proposed an armistice to the Russians, who did not, however, discontinue those operations by which they hoped to surround the defenders of the island. They had received orders to cross the gulph of Bothnia, and dictate the terms of peace in the enemy's capital: but when it appeared that the protector was disposed to listen to reasonable offers, they agreed to a cessation of hostilities. Bernadotte, in the name of the emperor of France, readily acceded to a similar request; and the prince of Hesse promised forbearance on the part of the Danes.

When the states of the realm assembled, baron Mannheim called their attention to the unfortunate effects of the king's passion for war and his political misconduct; and it was unanimously voted, that he should be deprived of the crown, and never permitted to resume it. But this was not deemed a sufficient punishment for his mal-administration; and it was therefore resolved, that his posterity should also be excluded from the throne. He quietly submitted to his fate, and enjoyed, in comparative obscurity, the mild comforts of domestic life.

The duke of Sudermania was chosen king, with the designation of Charles XIII.; and, as this change afforded an opportunity of reducing and circumscribing the influence of the crown, a new constitution was granted to the people, in return for the ready transfer of their allegiance. By this code, the government was declared to be an hereditary monarchy, limited to the male issue. The king was required to profess the Lutheran or evangelical religion. The ordinary affairs of administration were to be submitted to the decision of his majesty, assisted by at least three out of nine counsellors of state; whose suggestions however, he was not obliged to adopt. If his determination should be repugnant to the laws of the realm, the counsellors were bound to remonstrate against it, and to record their protest: but he was not responsible for any of his acts. Before he should declare war or conclude peace, he was expected to state his motives to the council, and to hear the opinions which the attendant members were bound to deliver. Of the army and navy he was to have the supreme command; but, in the regulation and adjustment of the concerns of each service, he was to be assisted by the minister of the department; and, in his intercourse with other powers, it

was required that the advice of his chancellor and of the minister for foreign affairs should be communicated to him. He was not allowed to deprive any one of his life, liberty, or property, without a legal judgment; nor was he permitted to arraign religious opinions, unless the dissemination of them should appear to be injurious to the public. The highest court of judicature was to be a council of justice, composed of six persons of distinction, whose continuance in their functions depended solely on their upright conduct. In this court, the king would have two votes; and the prerogative of pardon, and of a mitigation or commutation of punishment, would also be conceded to him. The deputies of the states were to be freely elected, and to enjoy a freedom of speech during the deliberations. In every fifth year, the states were to assemble in the capital, by order of the council of state; and the session was not to continue above three months, unless multiplicity of business should demand an extension of the period. It was a part of the early duty of each diet to nominate a committee, for an inquiry into the conduct of the ministers and council. No taxes could be imposed without the sanction of that assembly; nor had the sovereign the privilege of negotiating a loan, or altering the value of the coin, or of selling or alienating any part of the Swedish territory.

As the wish of the new king to preserve a friendly intercourse with Great Britain gave offence to the Russian emperor, a treaty of peace was not immediately concluded; and hostilities were renewed, but without producing any memorable incidents. Charles at length consented to an exclusion of British vessels from his ports; and he was also constrained to cede Finland to his powerful adversary. Sept. 17. This treaty was not altogether honorable to the nation; but it was considered as a necessary act of submission to an arbitrary confederacy.

## LETTER XII.

*View of the Progress of the Spanish War, and of the Concerns of Great Britain, to the Commencement of a new War in Germany.*

THE great cause in which the Spaniards were engaged, had roused them from their indolence and torpor, and called all their faculties into action. They were convinced of the necessity of extraordinary exertion, to avoid, on one hand, the danger and degradation of a foreign yoke, and, on the other, the miseries of anarchy. Amidst the animating contest, the intellects of the ordinary people seemed to be invigorated, and the literary genius of the higher and middle classes to revive. The addresses of the juntas afforded favourable specimens of reasoning and eloquence; and other effusions of this tempestuous period were marked with spirit and vigor.

In a proclamation addressed to the whole Spanish community, and in a decree transmitted to the provincial councils, the supreme junta explained its sentiments and evinced its zeal. When a tyranny of twenty years, exercised by men who were the most unqualified for the task of government, had reduced the country to the verge of ruin, the oppressor of Europe, said the new administrators, hoped to take a decisive advantage of the dissensions in the royal family, the disorganization and dispersion of the military force, and the decline of the national resources. He was suffered by the favorite to introduce a great army into the kingdom, for the evident purpose of giving law to the people, who suddenly, however, roused themselves from their slumber, annihilated the power of the minister, and placed a beloved prince on the throne. By the most abominable act of treachery that ever disgraced a tyrant, they were deprived of their new king; and, by the most diabolical inhumanity, the citizens of the capital were massacred for daring to oppose the base invaders of their country. This horrible treatment of an unoffending nation tended rather to provoke resentment than to produce submission. The enemies of Spain, concluding that the people would be intimidated and even paralysed by such an act of violence, spread themselves over the country, in the hope of enjoying the fruits of their perfidy. Rash and

blind idiots ! they knew not that they were rushing upon their own ruin. The crisis was unexampled in the history of Spain ; but the energy of the juntas established mutual confidence, and gave a proper and legitimate direction to the public mind. To preclude a want of concentration and of unity, a sovereign junta was at length formed by the general wish ; and thus the divisions which the French pretended to foresee, were effectually obviated. The car of the state moved upon one axis, and pursued a steady and uniform course. Some military advantages had been obtained, and the capital had been recovered : but the increasing force and obstinate perseverance of the enemy rendered the task of resistance difficult and arduous. The oppressor of public freedom lulled the rest of the continent into peace, that he might not be diverted, by any other enterprise, from the prosecution of his views in the peninsula. Anxious and apprehensive, the powers of Europe studiously observed the progress of this contest, all being interested in its event. Indeed, the only prospect of a preservation of the balance of power was to be found in a general confederacy, which would certainly take place at no very distant period, as it was recommended by interest and required by necessity. He who had shaken off all the obligations of humanity, honor, and virtue, would then be reduced to the alternative of having greater power than the whole confederacy of his adversaries, or of being buried under the mountains raised by the phrensy of his ambition. The exertions of the Spaniards, it was hoped, would pave the way for this glorious result ; and, in the mean time, it was their best policy to employ all the means of defence which they possessed, as if they were to sustain alone the whole force of France. An army, amounting to 550,000 men, ought, if possible to be levied : three great divisions might provide for the security of the frontiers ; and the rest of the national force might be ready to act in various directions, as occasion might require. All the resources of the country ought to be called forth, to oppose the gigantic power of the foe : but, as the rashness of enthusiasm might overshoot the mark, even the most vigorous measures ought to be accompanied with judgment, and qualified by prudence and circumspection. At the same time, the junta would reform the administration, correct abuses, encourage useful institutions, and, as far as the general danger would allow, promote individual happiness and national prosperity.

In the decree which was sent to the other juntas, a spirited sketch of the history of Spain, from the year 1795, was given,



with a view of exhibiting a strong contrast between the friendly demeanor of the king toward France, and the illiberal and tyrannical conduct of the successive rulers of that country : the shameful misgovernment of Godoy, who connived at every indignity and outrage that the French dared to offer or commit, also received just censure. Against the infamous contriver of the late conspiracy, the anathema of an injured nation was fulminated ; and vengeance was denounced against the profligate marauders and vile assassins who fought under his ensanguined banners. From the day<sup>1</sup> on which the freedom and sovereignty of Ferdinand, and the rights of an independent nation, were insulted and violated at Bayonne, all the ties between the French and Spanish governments were declared to be broken, and all treaties annulled. All captures, and other acts of hostility which had occurred since that time, were legalised ; and that such a war was sanctioned by justice, no reasonable person could deny. The members finally protested, that no overtures of peace or reconciliation would receive the least attention, unless their king should be restored to his throne, and the realm and its dependencies be secured from dismemberment or diminution.

The preparations and menaces of the Spaniards did not dispirit Napoleon, who resolved to support his brother with a powerful accession of force. By the way of Bayonne and other passes, he had opportunities of promoting his great object ; and thus the usurper was encouraged to remain within the boundaries of the kingdom. The terror inspired by the enemy repressed the rising zeal of the Biscayans, who did not, however, tamely suffer their chief town to be seized, and to endure the enormity of outrage. To robbery and violence, insult was added ; for a pretended general assembly was convoked at Bilbao, in the name of Joseph, whose representative Massaredo endeavoured to inspire the deputies with high ideas of the beneficent views of that prince, and exacted from each an oath of submission and allegiance. General Blake repeatedly attempted to dispossess the enemy of this important station ; and it was at length re-occupied by Spanish troops ; but, on the approach of Marshal Ney, it again changed its masters. Having retaken it, the Spaniards seemed to threaten Le-Fevre with an

Oct. 31.

and, in the battle which ensued near Durango, the victory was obstinately disputed. The right wing was first at-

<sup>1</sup>The 20th of April, 1808, was violated.

tacked ; and a Catalonian regiment particularly distinguished itself in resisting this assault. The division of general Mendizabal also acted with such vigour, as to occasion a recoil of the enemy. Blake, who assumed the immediate direction of the centre, animated the troops by his exhortations and example : but they were opposed by superior force and discipline ; and at the close of the day, the apprehension of being surrounded induced him to retreat, that he might form a junction with the marquis de la Romana, who had been enabled, by British aid, to escape with a strong body of his countrymen from the French service in Holstein.<sup>2</sup> Another engagement, between the same generals, took place near Balmaseda ; and the result was unfavourable to the troops of Galicia and the Asturias. Those of Estremadura were still more unfortunate, being more completely vanquished near Burgos.<sup>3</sup> On these occasions the patriotic cause was injured by want of concert, and by that impolicy which neglected the appointment of a chief commander of the whole military force.

The French prosecuted their advantages with their usual eagerness and promptitude. They rushed upon Blake's army near Espinosa, where its right occupied a wood, and Nov. 10. its left had taken a commanding position. By repeated assaults the Spaniards were dislodged from the wood ; but they re-advanced, and repelled their adversaries. The approach of night put an end to the engagement ; and when the French, who were before too numerous, had been reinforced, they obtained the victory on the following day, and, by seizing a height which overlooked the course of the retiring army, they were enabled to convert the retreat into a disorderly dispersion. Blake, however, with all the fugitives whom he could collect, ventured to face his pursuers at Reynosa ; but the strength of this post did not protect him against the powerful phalanx that endeavoured to crush him. Being defeated, he fled toward the coast ; and, of the 35,000 men who were recently under his command, few remained embodied. Yet the people were not discouraged : they applauded the courage

2 The French say, that the troops of the traitor *Romana* bore a part in this action ; but it appears, from the Spanish accounts, that they had no share in it.

3 This division of the Spanish force was nearly ruined, if we may give credit to the writer of the second bulletin, who adds, that not more than 15 of the French were killed, and 50 wounded. The falsehood of this account is self evident ; for no one can suppose that 12 or 13,000 men, of whom favourable mention is made by British officers, would suffer themselves to be massacred, captured, or dispersed, with the infliction of such trivial loss or mischief upon the enemy.

of their defenders, and looked forward with hope to a favourable change.

The enemy's next object was the ruin of the army of Castanos, posted near the frontiers of Navarre and Arragon. That commander, being informed of the approach of a numerous host, retired to a position which seemed advantageous to those who were to be attacked: but his divisions were not sufficiently close for a regular co-operation. His right wing was stationed near Tudela, and his left at Cascante. Marshal Lasnes, by Nov. 23. the vigour of a compact body of infantry, broke the centre, and made such an opening as served to admit Le Fevre and his cavalry, who, wheeling to the left, and aided by a charge in front, took measures for surrounding the Spanish right. In the mean time, La Pena so warmly received the division which assaulted the left, that he obtained a manifest advantage, and pursued the retiring enemy to some heights, which, to his great surprise, he found already occupied by another part of the French army. He immediately checked himself, and retreated to Borja; whence, with the greater part of the army, he marched to Calatayud. Palafox, with the Arragonians, retired to Saragossa, to assist in the renewed defence of that city.

During these operations, insincere overtures of peace had been made to the chief protector of the Spanish nation. The artful Napoleon, in a succession of conferences with the Russian emperor at Erford, had apparently secured the friendship of that prince, and obtained his acquiescence in the oppression of the Spaniards; and, at the same time, to add weight to his pretended desire of peace, he persuaded Alexander to concur with him in an application to the king of Great Britain. A letter was written in the name of these confederates, stating, that it was their anxious wish to yield to the desires and wants of the harassed nations, and to seek, in a speedy pacification with his majesty, the best remedy for the calamities with which Europe was afflicted; that the long continental war was at an end, without the possibility of renewal; that many changes had occurred, and many states had been overthrown, chiefly in consequence of that agitation and misery, in which the suspension of maritime commerce had placed the greatest nations. As more important changes, by which the people of Great Britain might be seriously affected, might yet take place, it was as much their interest, as it was that of the continent, to promote the restoration of peace. "We therefore unite (said the artful despot and his subservient friend) in entreating your

majesty to obey the dictates of humanity, and no longer yield to the impulse of passion; to adopt conciliatory measures, and thus preserve the existing powers, and secure the happiness of Europe."

This communication was introduced by a letter from M. de Champagny to Mr. Canning, intimating that French Negotiators were already nominated, who would repair to that city to which the British prince, and his allies might be disposed to send plenipotentiaries; and that the state of present possession, and any other basis sanctioned by justice, and the reciprocal rights of great nations, would be accepted by the two emperors, as the foundation upon which a treaty must be framed. In an official note, a temperate reply was made to the delusive application. The king, said the minister, had continued the war, because no secure and honourable means of terminating it had been afforded by his enemies; and, if he should agree to a negotiation, he thought it his duty to attend to other interests beside the immediate concerns of his own dominions. In addition to those princes with whom he had contracted a regular alliance, the Spanish nation claimed his aid and support; and he had a right to conclude, that no treaty could be seriously desired by those who ostensibly proposed it, unless the ruling power, acting in the name of Ferdinand, should be admitted to a participation of the conferences. Romanzoff, the Russian minister, protested against this admission, as a point to which his master, who had acknowledged Joseph as king of Spain, could not agree; and Champagny, in an insulting tone, derided the idea of treating with insurgents, and warned the king of the danger of opposing on the continent the powerful and united arms of France and Russia. Mr. Canning rejoined with spirit; and animadverted on the mean subserviency of the Russian potentate, and the gross injustice and infamous treachery of Bonaparte.

When the ruler of France joined his army in Spain after his German tour, he found himself at the head of 150,000 men, or perhaps of a much greater force. He did not personally act in the late battles; but, when the Estremadurans had been defeated, he fixed his head quarters at Burgos, where he proclaimed an amnesty in favour of those insurgents who should speedily submit to the authority of his royal brother. He then turned his thoughts to the reduction of Madrid, and intended to march in the sequel against the British army.

While sir John Moore was preparing to execute the instructions which he had received from his court, he found consid-

erable difficulty in communicating to his troops that primary impulse which was necessary to put them in motion. He complained, that he had not the means of enabling them to act; but he promised to use every exertion for surmounting the obstacles which delayed his advance. His uneasiness was not removed by the information which he received from lord William Bentinck, importing that, as far as could be judged from an intercepted official letter, above 70,000 men would speedily arrive from France to join the army near the Ebro. Sending lieutenant general Hope with the artillery and cavalry by a circuitous but more convenient *route* to Madrid, he marched to Almeida without securing a continuance of supplies; and, proceeding to Salamanca, endeavoured to expedite a junction with sir David Baird, who had landed at Corunna with a reinforcement. He was still at this station, when intelligence of the defeat of Castanos arrived; and this disaster induced him to recal Hope's division, lest it should be intercepted,—to send an order for the retrograde march of Baird, whose advanced guard had reached Astorga,—and to retreat with the rest of the army toward the Portuguese frontier. Subsequent accounts from Madrid, stating that the French had been repulsed at Sepulveda, and that the inhabitants of the capital, animated with patriotic zeal, were employed in the labours of fortification, occasioned a suspension of the retreat, and encouraged the general to meditate an advance to Valladolid or to Burgos, if the Marquis de la Romana should be ready to co-operate with him. But an officer whom he sent to procure accurate information of the state of affairs, found that the French, after forcing the pass of Somo-Sierra, had obtained possession of the gates, the Buen Retiro and Prado; that the duke of Castel-Franco and don Thomas de Morsa had capitulated, in the name of the junta; and that, although the chief military officers refused to concur in the convention, and the people remained in arms, there was no prospect of maintaining the city. The defence, indeed, was short and spiritless, as the inhabitants probably concluded that a protracted resistance would provoke the ferocious enemy to a demolition of the city. Hasty barricades had been formed; batteries had been erected; and many of the houses were filled with armed men; but, when the Retiro had been stormed, and a general assault was expected, a regard to personal safety dictated submission; and the Dec. 4. invaders again became masters of Madrid.

Hearing of the advance of Soult with about 16,000 men, the British commander moved forward to attack him before he



could be reinforced ; but he was not gratified with the desired opportunity ; and, indeed, he did not expect that an incidental advantage over the marshal would have any effect in rousing the Spaniards to a display of that zeal which alone could save them from ruin. It was his opinion, that they would make no strenuous efforts to favor the cause in which the English had taken so active a part, and that their apathy and indifference were incorrigible. " Had the British been withdrawn, the loss of the cause (he says) would have been imputed to their retreat ; and it was necessary to risk this army, to convince the people of England, as well as the rest of Europe, that the Spaniards had neither the power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themselves." In other words, he was willing to expose his troops to serious danger, to prove that he had formed a just conception and estimate of the Spanish character. He therefore marched to Sahagun, and " brought the whole disposable force of the French against his army ;" and not a single movement was made to favour his retreat.<sup>4</sup> Here he concerted with Romana a scheme of attack, which was relinquished in consequence of a report of the advance of a great reinforcement from New Castile to the camp of Soult. A speedy retreat into Galicia was now ordered ; but it was concluded by some of the officers, that the commander in chief intended to take defensive positions among the mountains of that province, rather than, by quitting the peninsula, discourage and paralyse the exertions of the natives. It is by no means certain, however, that he could have maintained himself in Galicia ; and the sequel will show, that the retreat had not such an unfortunate effect as was apprehended.

The retreat, by the acknowledgment of the general himself, was so disorderly, as to reflect disgrace upon the army.<sup>5</sup> Parties wandered out of the road, with views of depredation : others loitered in the rear, in a state of intoxication ; and many treated the Spaniards with harshness and insolence. The danger of a slow march occasioned that precipitancy which precluded, in a great measure, the enforcement of order and regularity. Several attacks were made upon the retiring troops ; but the spirit of resistance was still unbroken ; and those who were refractory in the march were ready to maintain in con-

<sup>4</sup> Letter to Lord Cestlereagh, private rather than official, January 13.

<sup>5</sup> Brigadier Clinton, who was induced to write a defence of the conduct of Sir John Moore in the retreat, confirms this charge. He says, " the disorders committed by the stragglers all along the road were such, that the people were flying in consternation from their habitations."

flit the honour of the British arms. Having repelled these assaults, the commander made dispositions near Lugo for a general engagement; but Soult, content with harrassing the march, was unwilling to incur that risk before he had secured every advantage.

Much loss was sustained during the retreat, by the death of a number of men from cold and fatigue, and by the abandonment of stores, money, and baggage; and, for want of the means of conveyance, the sick were left to the mercy of the foe. By halting for three days at Lugo, the troops procured provisions and rest; but, by this long delay, they increased the danger which hung over them. The march terminated at Corunna; but the embarkation was necessarily postponed, because the transports had not arrived from Vigo. Having driven the army to this point, Soult took a strong position, and made preparations for an attack. The situation which Sir John Moore had reluctantly chosen was far from being advantageous for defence, as the town and harbour were commanded by those who could secure the principal heights. It was supposed that he would have seized the more defensible eminences; but he contented himself with an inferior range, and left to the French a strong position. He then made such arrangements as the time allowed; and, instead of stipulating for an un molested embarkation (as some of his officers advised,) trusted for safety to the courage of his soldiers. An impetuous attack was made upon the right of his line, commanded by sir David Baird, who, being shot in the arm, was obliged to quit the field. The village of Elvina became an object of the most violent contest; and, while the general was giving directions suited to the critical occasion, a cannon-ball shattered his left arm near the shoulder, and lacerated the muscles of his breast. He instantly fell; but this misfortune did not discourage the troops. They fought with such determined vigor, that even the support which was afforded to the French by fresh battalions did not prevent them from retiring. Being unable to force the right, the enemy endeavoured, by superiority of number, to turn it; but major-general Paget, by bringing the reserve into action, baffled that attempt. The centre was exposed to a spirited assault, which, however, was repelled with little difficulty: the left defended itself with equal resolution; and, when the French general drew off his troops in the evening, a line was occupied by their adversaries, sufficiently forward to refute the claim of Soult to the honours of victory. The chief loss was sustained

by the aggressors. The whole number of killed and wounded, it is supposed, did not exceed 1000 in the British army.<sup>6</sup>

Only a feeble opposition was made to the embarkation, which was conducted with greater regularity than could reasonably have been expected. Even all the wounded are said to have been brought off. The general did not long survive his wound: in his last moments he heard, with all the pleasure which could be felt in his languid state, that the enemies of his country had been compelled to retire. He was an officer of distinguished merit, brave without rashness, and vigilantly attentive to all the duties of his profession: but it does not appear that he possessed the talents and skill of a great commander. He had been taught by the ministers to believe, that the resources of Spain were in a great measure at his disposal, and that a prospect of rapid success was afforded by the weakness of the enemy. The real state of affairs not being so auspicious as the delineation was alluring, he soon began to despair of triumph, and to entertain the most gloomy ideas. While the ministers were too sanguine and confident, he leaned to the other extreme.<sup>7</sup> As their high expectations from that campaign were disappointed, they privately blamed his conduct: yet they openly applauded the management of the retreat, and the spirit which repelled the enemy.

After the departure of the British army, the French obtained possession of Corunna, by the capitulation of the governor Alzedo, who, in the name of the garrison and inhabitants, promised full submission to the authority of Joseph, and procured from Soult an amnesty for all persons who had been concerned in any commotions, or who had given offence to that prince or his ministers and functionaries. But the seeming progress of the usurper did not occasion the least decline in the zeal with which the British court supported the claim of Ferdinand; with whom, or with the junta that governed in his name, a treaty of alliance had been recently concluded at London. At the very time when the two armies near Corunna were preparing for a sanguinary collision, Mr. Canning and

6 London Gazette Extraordinary of Jan. 24.—Millbarne's Narrative.—Letters from Portugal and Spain, by an officer.—The whole loss sustained in different modes, from the commencement of the retreat to the embarkation, may be estimated at 5000 men.

7 "His letters (says a periodical historian) are marked with a melancholy spirit of prophecy, which *too clearly foresaw* the downfall of the cause he was sent to maintain." It will appear, in the progress of the history, whether the general *fore-saw* the result of the war, or only yielded to the delusions of fancy.

Jan. 14. rear-admiral Apodaca signed a convention, binding his Britannic majesty to a close concert with Spain in the war against the French, and precluding, on the part of the acknowledged king, the cession of any portion of the Spanish territories. By separate articles, it was stipulated, that the most effectual measures should be taken to prevent the Spanish squadrons in all the ports, and the French ships at Cadiz, from falling into the power of the enemy; that the amount and description of British succours should be settled by a future convention; and that, until a treaty of commerce should be regularly negotiated, mutual facilities should be afforded to the traffic of the two nations.

Whatever might be the opinion of the French, Spain was far from being subdued. They boasted that they had ruined the armies of the right, centre, and left, and flattered themselves with a hope of the permanent possession of Madrid. But, although their success had an imposing aspect, an arduous task remained to be performed, before they could call the country their own: the zeal of patriotism, animated by a sense of religion, and inflamed by a detestation of the character and conduct of their enemies, could not easily be extinguished.

When the parliament re-assembled, it was stated, in the Jan. 19. king's name, that he continued to receive from the rulers of Spain "the strongest assurances of their determined perseverance in the cause of the legitimate monarchy and of national independence." He promised that, so long as the people of that country should remain true to themselves, they might depend on his strenuous aid and support; and he therefore recommended such an augmentation of the military force, as might enable him to oppose the enemy with effective vigour. It was also intimated to the two houses, with regard to another branch of hostility, that the eager endeavours of the French to destroy the commerce and resources of Great Britain had not prevented the progressive improvement of the public revenue.

The king was empowered, by the votes of the commons, to grant pecuniary aid to Spain and Portugal: and considerable supplies of men were also forwarded to the peninsula. British officers were employed in disciplining the Portuguese: but the jealous pride of the Spaniards long repelled this assumption of superiority, even while they expressed their gratitude for the aid which was so readily afforded.

It was generally acknowledged, that the duke of York had improved the military establishment in various respects, and

had brought the army to a high state of discipline: but, as it was discovered that the commissions and appointments had been sometimes granted without regard to merit, and that an artful and rapacious woman had taken a corrupt advantage of his occasional negligence, an inquiry was instituted on the motion of Mr. Wardle. Many witnesses were examined; and the base interference of Mrs. Clark was fully proved. She avowed the receipt of various sums of money for the exercise of her influence over the duke, and declared that, in several instances, he was not unacquainted with these acts of corruption. At the close of the inquiry, the accuser proposed an address to the king, stating that the charges had been substantiated, and that, as such conduct tended to abate the zeal of the army, and to produce serious mischief, the duke ought to be deprived of his command. Mr. Burton and Mr. Perceval strongly opposed the motion, because they conceived that the allegations were destitute of validity. Mr. Banks expressed his conviction, that an unreserved communication had subsisted between the duke and his female friend on military topics, and that she thus acquired an undue influence in the regulation of those points in which she had no right to interfere; and, while he acquitted his royal highness of personal corruption, he moved, as an amendment, that the indecorous connexion which had been so imprudently formed, and the insult thus offered to the morals and religion of the nation, rendered the duke's continuance in his high employment very inexpedient and improper. Lord Folkstone vindicated the testimony of Mrs. Clarke from the objections with which it had been assailed, as if it had been the mere produce of revenge for the refusal of her exorbitant demands. He admitted her credibility on this occasion the more readily, as she had destroyed a variety of documents which might have served her purpose of crimination. The amendment being rejected, Mr. Perceval proposed a resolution, denying that the evidence adduced could justly criminate the duke; and, after an animated renewal of debate, the house, by a majority of eighty-two votes, disallowed the charge of corruption, and even of connivance.

The duke's anxiety would not allow him to wait the result of these debates, without a solemn assertion of his innocence. In a letter addressed to the speaker, he denied all "corrupt participation in any of the infamous transactions" which had been stated; declared that he had not the slightest knowledge or suspicion of their existence; and desired that he might not be condemned without trial, or a regular inquiry into the vali-



dity of the evidence: but, even after the house had sanctioned the efforts of his friends, and admitted the satisfactory tendency of their exculpatory harrangues, when there did not appear to be any necessity for his abandonment of the high ground on Mar. 18. which he stood, he resigned the direction of the military department. He was probably of opinion, that the voice of the people called for his retreat, and that this general sentiment outweighed the decision of the national representatives. His accuser was hailed as a patriot, complimented with panegyric addresses and votes of municipal freedom: but, when he suffered Mr. Clarke to sue him for the execution of those pecuniary engagements by which he had encouraged her to expose her paramour, and when other circumstances seemed to militate against the purity of his character and motives, his popularity rapidly declined.

The new commander in chief was sir David Dundas, who was a respectable officer, but was precluded by age from the exercise of that activity and address which the army expected to find in the director of so great an establishment. While he was promoting the increase of the disposable force, a new war arose upon the continent.

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### LETTER XIII.

*A general view of, extended Hostilities, to the Treaty of Vienna.*

THE first object of the Austrian emperor, after the peace of Presburg, was the renovation of his army. To the archduke Charles this task was more particularly assigned; and the conduct of that prince did not disappoint the hopes of his brother, who expressed his satisfaction at the new arrangements and regulations. To the affairs of finance, and the retrieval of public credit, great attention was also paid by the court; and, while the military establishment was more particularly fostered, with a view of avoiding a series of loss and disgrace con-

siderable retrenchments were made in other branches of expenditure.

It soon became evident, even to ordinary observers of political affairs, that Francis was not inclined to remain in a state of inaction, if any opportunity of opposing the French with effect should arise. The contest in Spain, by employing a great army, seemed to afford a favourable occasion for a renewal of hostilities against the enemy of all quiet or well-disposed nations; and a continuance of encroachment and usurpation seemed to justify an attack. To the jealous remonstrances of Napoleon, evasive replies were made; and a military attitude was still preserved. Enraged at this appearance of hostile intentions, the despot menaced the Austrians with a vigorous war, if their army should not be reduced to its ordinary number, and so stationed as to preclude the suspicion of offensive movements. As the answer was incompliant, he put a numerous host in motion. A proclamation was then issued at Vienna, stating the emperor's resolution of asserting his independence by arms. He was convinced of the April 8. readiness of his people to support him on such an occasion; and, as he could depend on their unanimity, obedience, confidence, and activity, he flattered himself with the fairest prospect of success.

The archduke Charles made an energetic appeal to the nation in general, and the army in particular. His brother, he said, was reduced to the necessity of taking arms,<sup>1</sup> because the emperor of France wishes to annihilate the power of every state which would not implicitly submit to his will, or be subservient to his unprincipled and insatiable ambition; because he had already given orders to his generals for the enforcement of his schemes of aggressive violence, and had summoned his dependent allies into the field for the accomplishment of his flagitious aims. To oppose such an enemy with the utmost vigor was the duty of every Austrian subject, and of every friend to the laws, honor, and prosperity of Germany. While the French studiously aimed at the ruin of the most venerable institutions, at the subversion of ancient codes, and the cor-

<sup>1</sup> The necessity was strongly denied by the writer of the eighth bulletin, who attributed the war to the pride of the emperor Francis, the archduke's jealousy of Russia, the efficacy of English gold in corrupting the minister Stadion, the levity of the women, and the artful insinuations of Metternich. With regard to the offer of a subsidy or a loan from Great Britain, the ministers denied that any overtures whatever had been made to the court of Vienna, or any influence exerted: but, when the war had commenced, a treaty of alliance was concluded, and pecuniary supplies were transmitted to Germany.

ruption of morals and manners,—prosecuted a course of shameful rapacity, and a still more atrocious career of cruelty, which was particularly exemplified in the employment of the youth of one foreign nation for the attack and subjugation of others,—the Austrians were prepared to contend for their dearest interests, their religion, laws, and possessions, the independence of their monarchy, and the ancient privileges of the Germanic confederacy. No patriot, no man of true spirit, could be disaffected to this glorious cause : indifference would be criminal ; and submission to the brutal foe would be disgraceful and ruinous.

Of the nine grand divisions which composed the Austrian army, one remained on the Bohemian frontier for the purpose of temporary observation, under the immediate command of the count de Bellegarde ; one was conducted into Poland by the archduke Ferdinand, and two were sent into Italy ; while five after the expulsion of the French and Bavarians from Munich, occupied the country from the Isar at Landshut to the Danube at Neudstadt. Bonaparte, having hastened from Paris on the first intelligence of the invasion of Bavaria, addressed his troops from Donawert, and assured them of a speedy and complete triumph. At Abensberg, he attacked two divisions ; and a spirited conflict ensued, in which, after a considerable loss on both sides, each claimed the advantage. Near Eckmuhl, a more general action occurred, in which the Austrians were compelled to retreat. Prince Charles then passed the Danube near Ratisbon, after a fierce engagement ; and, being joined by Bellegarde, took a position at Cham. Leaving a strong body to watch his movements, Napoleon moved along the right bank of the Danube, severely harrassing the left wing, which he drove to Ebersberg where baron Hiller resisted with such effect, as to destroy a great number of his pursuers. That officer then hastened to secure Vienna, which the archduke also hoped to reach before it should be invested by the enemy. It was not, however, considered as a defensible town ; and, when howitzers had played upon it for twenty-four hours, and the river-isles had been seized, the citizens capitulated, while the troops retreated over the bridge May 13. of Tabor. The archduke was not disposed to submit tamely to this loss, but resolved to attack the French and their German allies near the capital. He stationed his army near Ebersdorff ; and, when he had ineffectually endeavoured to obstruct the passage of the invaders, who threw pontons over a branch of the river to a small island, and by the same

means reached the isle of Lobau, whence they passed to the left bank with little molestation, they fortified Aspern and Essling, and were as ready to offer as to sustain an attack.

The Austrians advanced in five columns, which, with a corps of cavalry and grenadiers amounted to 75,000 men. An equal, if not a greater number, fought on May 21. the side of Napoleon. Aspern was the first object of attack; and it was alternately taken and recovered, as each party seemed to think its possession necessary. Every house was resolutely contested; and every tree had its assailants and defenders. At length, a part of the second column, co-operating with the first, gained the upper part of the village, and kept it during the night. The actions, on a bushy meadow near the post, were not less vigorous and sanguinary. An animated contest occurred between the first line of the third column and the hostile cavalry. The latter, being very numerous, turned the battalions on both wings, penetrated between them, and repelled a body of light horse, but were driven back in confusion by some well directed volleys. The fourth and fifth columns attacked Essling and Enzersdoff, and obtained visible advantages; and the equestrian reserve, joining the infantry in the centre, also acted with spirit and success. But, as a mere repulse was insufficient, fresh efforts were deemed requisite on the following day. The Austrians were dislodged from Aspern, which, however, they retook when it was involved in flames. Having been reinforced in the night, the French eagerly pressed forward, regardless of the destruction of their bridges by fire-boats; and the battle soon became general; but it raged with particular vehemence in the centre and at Essling. That village was defended by the French with extraordinary obstinacy, because they were sensible of its utility in the event of a retreat. Such a movement was at length rendered necessary; and it was not effected without a severe loss, as all the batteries played while the troops were hastily passing in small vessels to the isle of Lobau. Above 20,000 men were killed or wounded in these conflicts, on the part of the Austrians, who made, however, a much greater havoc among the hostile ranks.<sup>2</sup>

This "splendid and important success," as it was styled in the royal speech at the prorogation of the British parliament, was not attended with any favourable result. Those who called themselves victors, left the enemy for several weeks

<sup>2</sup> Austrian account, given in the Supplement to the London Gazette of July 11.

unmolested, as if they were of opinion that they had sufficiently secured all the advantages of a glorious campaign. A respite was certainly expedient and desirable ; but that indolence and neglect which suffered the fruits of a boasted victory to be wholly lost, must excite surprise, if censure should be deemed illiberal.

In Italy, the archduke John was at first successful. He reduced some considerable towns in the Venetian territories, and even menaced the capital. A reverse of fortune followed : he was defeated in several engagements by the viceroy Beauharnois, and deprived of his recent acquisitions. The French commander then prepared to reinforce the grand army of Napoleon, while the archduke was equally intent upon a junction with his brother. Near Leoben, Beauharnois routed the corps of Jellachich ; and, pursuing his course, joined Lauriston at Bruck, whence he proceeded into Hungary, threatening prince John with another defeat.

While the French maintained their ground in the north of Italy, they strengthened their power to the southward, by a total subversion of the papal authority.

It is certainly inconsistent with the genuine spirit of the Christian religion, that a director of the concerns of the soul should be a temporal prince. "Christ's kingdom is not of this world ;" and the gratifications of piety are not to be found in the midst of lordly splendour and princely power. He who is immersed in politics, and entangled in the affairs of busy life, will rarely pay a due attention to the religious interests of the people ; or, when he interferes in that department, he will treat the doctrine and discipline of the church as points of policy rather than of conscience, and will render them subservient to the prevailing system of government. It never was intended by the apostolic founders of Christianity, that the head of the catholic church should be a territorial sovereign. He was at first a mere president of the Christian community, the chief pastor of the increasing flock. It was his duty to point out the path of salvation, to render practice consistent with faith, and to encourage every species of private virtue. But so commanding was the influence obtained over superstitious minds by spiritual directors, that political power and temporal authority were gradually acquired by the bishops of Rome, who, elate with these adventitious aids, soon began to consider religion as an inferior object of consideration. The profligacy and tyranny of many pontiffs excited the disgust of every good Christian ; and it became the wish, even of devout catholics,



that power, thus abused, should be transferred to the hands of laymen. These remarks are not offered in justification of the conduct of Bonaparte, who, when he resolved to reduce the pope to the state of a mere bishop, was actuated only by ambition and rapacity.

In the preamble of a decree which he sent to Rome from his camp at Vienna, he said, that his august predecessor Charlemagne, when he assigned various territories to the pontiffs, gave them merely as fiefs to be holden under him and his successors, with a view of more effectually securing the tranquility of Italy, not intending that Rome should at any time cease to form a part of the great empire which he left to his posterity; that, since that period, the combination of the temporal with the spiritual power had been a source of serious discordance and of frequent mischief; and that it was impracticable to conciliate the tranquility of the state, and the dignity and integrity of the empire, with the temporal pretensions of the pope. It was therefore ordained, that the papal territories should be incorporated with the French dominions;<sup>3</sup> that the public debt should stand on the same basis with that of France; and that the revenue of the pontiff should be fixed at the sum of two millions of francs, free from all charges or requisitions. Rome was declared to be a free and imperial city; and general Miollis, Salicetti, and four other statesmen, were ordered to make such arrangements as would assimilate the new appendage of France to the rest of the empire. They suppressed the court of inquisition, annulled the temporal jurisdiction of the clergy, abolished the right of asylum and other inexpedient privileges, and organised new tribunals. The title of king of Rome was appropriated to the heir of the empire; and a splendid court was to be kept in that city by a prince of the blood or a grand dignitary.

The troops which guarded the Roman territory were called away by the danger to which the kingdom of Naples seemed for a time to be exposed. Sir John Stuart, rather with a view of exciting a diversion in favour of the Austrians, than in the hope of making a powerful impression upon the Neapolitan dominions, sailed with a considerable force, and made a descent on the isle of Ischia, which, as well as Procida, he reduced in the name of the king of Sicily. Lieutenant-colonel Smith, being detached to the attack of Scylla, failed in the attempt, and

<sup>3</sup> In the preceeding year, general Miollis had taken possession of Rome, and had secured the person of the pope; but the definitive arrangements were postponed.

hastily retired; but in consequence of a sudden panic, the enemy quitted the fortress, leaving the artillery and stores which had been taken from the besiegers, and a valuable supply belonging to the usurper. The state of the city of Naples did not render an assault advisable, as Murat<sup>4</sup> had assembled a great force for its defence.

These operations were not productive of any real benefit to the Austrians, who, being conducted to Raab by prince John, had another engagement with the viceroy of Italy. The Hungarians, by whom they were joined, did not act with spirit; and the French prevailed after a sanguinary contest. Retiring toward Presburg, the archduke remained in expectation of orders from the commander in chief, who continued on the defensive near Vienna.

The army which prince Charles had collected, exceeded the amount of 110,000 men; but it was not strong in cavalry, the soldiers of that description being only 12,000 in number. When the preparations of the French announced an attempt to pass the Danube, and provoke a general engagement, the Austrian positions extended from Jedlersdorff on the Spitz to Muhleithern. Enzersdorff, which seemed to require defence, was very imperfectly fortified: other posts were less strong than they might easily have been rendered; and the movements of the French were not observed with due vigilance. The fire of a battery having dislodged a feeble party from an out-post, a bridge was thrown over a narrow branch of the Danube, and a French detachment passed over to a wood which was protected by a morass. To check the imitation of this bold example, four divisions of the grand army approached the river, forming, as far as they could, an investment of the Lobau: but, on subsequent consideration, this arrangement was abandoned, as not affording many defensible positions. Returning to the former line, the archduke left one division with the advanced guard for the defence of the river. When some days had been employed in firing from the opposite batteries, the French fixed three bridges, one of a single piece, one of boats, and another of rafts, below Enzersdorff; barges were also prepared for the passage: and a considerable part of their army gained the left bank in a dark, rainy, and tempestuous night, amidst a fierce cannonade from the whole Austrian line. They soon broke the weak chain of posts form-

<sup>4</sup> This adventurer had been elevated by his brother-in-law to the throne of Naples, on the removal of Joseph to Spain.

ed by the van-guard, seized the town, and were joined in the forenoon by the rest of the army. When he had retired beyond the Russbach, the archduke began to form redoubts in that position when it was too late; for the advance of the enemy soon dispersed the workmen. Having crossed the rivulet, the French, in great force, attacked the centre, and broke the first line by the impetuosity of their charge; but the commander in chief exerted himself at this critical moment with such spirit and address, that the Austrians rallied, and compelled their adversaries to repass the stream. Night put an end to the engagement; and the French, without just pretensions claimed the victory. July 5.

In the ensuing night, the Austrians, by an unnecessary extension of their line, occupied the country from Stammersdorff to Neusiedel. Their general had formed a scheme of concurrent attack upon both flanks of the enemy, in the hope of cutting off the communication with the Danube: but there was not sufficient time to make all the arrangements for this purpose; and that division which had received orders before the rest could be instructed and prepared, suffered severely by a premature attack upon the right wing of the French. It was expected that the archduke John would be able to join in this assault; but it was imprudent to depend upon his opportune arrival. The central body passed through Wagram, and had a long contest for the possession of Aderkla, which was at length secured by the Austrians, who, forming two lines in its front, drove the French back upon Raschdorff, spreading disorder through that part of the field in which Napoleon more particularly acted. In the mean time, a part of the Austrian right, which had moved toward Aspern, found that village and a neighbouring wood occupied by the enemy; but a dislodgement was effected with little difficulty, and the French were pursued to their *tête-de-pont* on the banks of the Danube. The deficiency of cavalry prevented a due advantage from being taken of the retrograde movements of the French centre; and the same disparity was highly unfavourable to the Austrian left, which, after being recalled from its attack, could not, even with the aid which it received from the centre, secure itself from being seriously outflanked, or permanently defend Neusiedel against the vigorous assaults of Davoust. The ill success of this *corps*, made an unfavourable impression upon other parts of the line. The centre, being exposed to a new and formidable attack, gradually retreated; and the right, threatened with the danger of being turned by the columns marching

along the river, evacuated the posts which had been recently seized, and concurred in those movements of timidity or of prudence, which not only inspired the French with the confident hope of victory, but gave them a right to claim it. The honor would have been greater, if they had not possessed a commanding superiority, both in the number of men and in the quantity of artillery. In the two battles, about 20,000 men, on the Austrian side, were killed, wounded, or captured; and the amount of the French, in the two former cases, proved nearly equal to that calculation.<sup>5</sup>

For the five following days, the retreating army suffered continual molestation and farther loss, particularly at Znaim; and to prevent its ruin, an armistice was requested and obtained. It was purchased by such concessions as evinced, on the part of the unfortunate emperor, a desire of speedy pacification.

The Tyrolese and Voralbergers were particularly active in this campaign. They had felt, soon after the peace of Presburg, the ill effects of that transfer to which they had been obliged to submit. Their privileges and immunities were ostensibly secured to them by the treaty; but engagements of this nature are not, in general, very scrupulously regarded; and the king of Bavaria was so unwilling to suffer any circumscription of the royal authority, that he violated the compact in multiplied instances, with the same open defiance of national feeling in which his arbitrary patron would have gloried. He abolished the representative states, and subverted the constitution of the country: he seized the funds, confiscated the property of the church, suppressed monasteries, and sold public buildings, not sparing even the ancient castle of the counts of Tyrol, the possession of which was supposed to confer the right of sovereignty. The taxes which he imposed upon his new subjects were so numerous and severe, that even a procurement of the means of subsistence became extremely difficult. Petitions and remonstrances against these grievances were strictly prohibited, and even the murmurs of discontent were tyrannically repressed. Such a series of oppression disposed the whole nation to a revolt, as soon as it was known that a new war was on the point of arising between France and Austria. The agents of the court of Vienna fanned the flame of general indignation; and it was concerted between these emissaries and the Tyrolese, that, when the Bavarians should begin to enforce the military conscription, or take meas-

ures for the supposed security of the province, the injured inhabitants should erect the standard of revolt. An attempt being made to destroy a bridge, with a view of impeding the advance of the Austrians, the peasants attacked and routed the party; and this exploit served as the signal for a general insurrection.

None but the slaves of despotism will blame the conduct of the Tyrolese on this occasion. They were shamefully misgoverned and oppressed, and were consequently no more criminal in revolting from Maximilian Joseph than the English were for shaking off the tyrannous yoke of the second James. Success attended their early operations. An assault upon Inspruck put them in possession of the town; and from other places the Bavarians were easily dislodged. A complete victory was obtained in the field over a considerable army, even before the insurgents were joined by an Austrian force. A civil governor and a commandant were sent by Francis to re-establish his interest in the province; and the states were convoked at Brixen by the archduke John. But this pleasing prospect was obscured by the appearance of a French army under Le Fevre, who, co-operating with general Wrede, defeated the Austrians and Tyrolese, and compelled the majority of the former to evacuate the country. The French commander, knowing that the exercise of extreme cruelty, against those who are called rebels and *brigands*, would be highly agreeable to his sovereign, diffused over the province the horrors of devastation and murder. Towns and villages were involved in flames: the peasants, whether armed or defenceless, were massacred: women and children were put to death with circumstances of atrocious barbarity.<sup>6</sup>

The insurrection, however was not yet crushed. The peasants Speckbacher and Hoffer, and a Capuchin named Haspinger, encouraged the patriots to renew their exertions; and the French were defeated with great loss in several engagements. Le-Fevre and his ruffian troops fled from the province; and Hoffer assumed the government. The Tyrolese, assisted by a great number of Austrian prisoners who had escaped from the power of the French, now invaded Bavaria, made an incursion into Carinthia, and even sought the enemy in Italy; but, being deserted by the Austrians in consequence of the armistice, and deprived of the artillery and ammunition which they had taken, they were constrained to relinquish their re-

<sup>6</sup> Statement of the Tyrolese Deputies who were sent to England to solicit aid or interposition.



cent acquisitions, and to act merely on the defensive. Le-Fevre, with a great army of French and Bavarians, again rushed into the Tyrol, and renewed his inhuman ravages, which excited such indignation and resentment, that even the women resolved to wreak vengeance on the straggling or captive invaders, 640 of whom they put to death near Landeck. The enemy being defeated with severe loss, the marshals Macdocald and Bessieres were sent with a select reinforcement; but they also felt the effects of patriotic zeal and courage. Hoffer and his associates again cleared the country; and an interval of tranquility ensued. On the renewal of hostilities, Speckbacher was surrounded in a Bavarian town; but he found the means of escape, after the discomfiture of his troops. Hoffer retired from the capital, and defended himself among the mountains. The annunciation of the treaty of Vienna having produced only a partial submission, the French and Bavarians prosecuted their desolating and murderous course, and at length overwhelmed all opposition. Hoffer, unable to elude discovery, was condemned by martial law, and shot: the same fate attended the efforts of Mayer, another gallant chieftain; and the country was again oppressed by the iron yoke of Bavaria.<sup>7</sup>

An insurrection, which, if it had been encouraged by the higher powers, might have worn a formidable aspect, had been organised in Germany by Schill, the commander of a regiment in the Prussian service. He lamented the inactivity of his sovereign amidst the alarming progress of the French, and announced his intention of leading an army of patriots against the inhuman enemies of Germany. He soon collected a considerable force, and harrassed the French detachments in Saxony and Westphalia: but his career was short and transient; for, when he had retired to Stralsund, he was attacked by some Dutch and Danish troops and lost his life. Many of his officers fell with him; and some who were captured, were sacrificed as deserters, to the rigours of martial law. The duke of Brunswick-Oels, son of the prince who was mortally wounded at Auerstadt, also carried on a desultory warfare, with the aid of all who were willing to share his fortune: but he was unable to recover the duchy; and, after occasional instances of success, he evaded hostile fury by seeking refuge in England. The archduke Ferdinand, acting under more regular authority, invaded Saxony with effect; and Bonaparte's vassal king was, for a time, deprived of some of his principal towns. Je-

7 Der Krieg der Tyroler Landleute, von J. L. S Bartholdy.

rome, the Westphalian king, was alarmed at the progress of general Kienmayer, who obtained several advantages over the supporters of Gallic tyranny; and if any army had been sent from Great Britain, this intruder might perhaps have been dethroned: but an expedition of a different kind occupied all the attention of the ministry.

The preparations which were made for the new enterprise were sufficiently ample for a much more important service than the destruction of a few ships. The military force sent out amounted to 39,000 men: the fleet consisted of thirty-seven sail of the line, and twenty-nine ships of inferior rate, beside sloops, bomb vessels, and gun brigs. The artillery requisite for a siege, and all kinds of military and naval stores, were abundantly furnished; but there was one serious deficiency, for which no other preparation could effectually atone. An active, able, and judicious conductor of the enterprise, was not provided by its imprudent projectors. The earl of Chatham, who was selected for the employment, was known to possess courage, and his good sense in the business of ordinary life was not disputed: but he was tardy in his movements, indolent, and inert, and the choice of such a commander was consequently ill calculated to promote the success of an expedition which required celerity and vigour.<sup>8</sup> Much time, it may also be observed, was lost in the preparation; for a force considerably less would have been adequate to the intended object; and the armament might then have reached the place of its destination, before the enemy had collected the means of powerful resistance. But, unfortunately, the whole business was a tissue of error and mismanagement.

It was pretended by lord Castlereagh, by whom the enterprise was suggested to the cabinet, that one of its objects tended to create a diversion in favour of the Austrians; but it was too long delayed to have any beneficial effect in that point of view, and the troops ought rather to have acted in Germany; or, if they had been sent to Spain, they might have occasioned the recal of a great force from the banks of the Danube.

The armament proceeded from the downs to the isle of Walcheren, and sailed to its north-eastern coast by a passage which had been deemed impracticable for large ships; and a

<sup>8</sup> This may be deemed a bold assertion from a writer who has no connexion with the military service, particularly as the successor of the duke of York approved the appointment: but, without affirming that interest alone procured the earl's nomination to the command, a reference to his well known character is sufficient to prove that the choice was not the most judicious.

July 30. considerable part of the army disembarked near the town of Veer, which was taken after a short cannonade and bombardment. Middleburg was not defended; but, at Flushing, the resistance was spirited, if not obstinate. A strong detachment landed on South Beverland, under sir John Hope, who quickly reduced the whole island. The defenders of Flushing, having made a vigorous *sortie*, received so severe a check from a major-general Graham's division, that they were discouraged from future sallies. They not only suffered considerable loss, but were obliged to relinquish some very advantageous ground, of which the besiegers eagerly took possession for the establishment of their advanced posts.

It was the opinion of some officers, that the possession of the isle of Walcheren was not a necessary preliminary to the progress of the fleet and army up the Schelde; that it was sufficient to mask Flushing; and that thus the grand object of the expedition might have been effected. The occupation of Cadsand, it was particularly alledged, would have given the armament an opportunity of proceeding up the river without any molestation from the works of Flushing: but so negligent was the general in this respect, that long after the arrival of the army off Walcheren, French troops were sent to the besieged town from the opposite island. Every day was important in this critical service; and it appears that much time was lost. The earl imputed an unexpected delay to the admiral, sir Richard Strachan, upon whose vigorous co-operation in an attack upon Flushing, with a view of avoiding a protracted siege, he was inclined to depend, in consequence of a previous agreement, which, however, was denied by his naval associate.

In the progress of the siege, Hope's division remained near Batz, in South Beverland. That important post was exposed to two attacks from the enemy's frigates, brigs, and gun-boats; but it was still retained; and the flotilla, diminished by the destruction or capture of a part of its amount, retired towards Fort Lillo. After the reduction of Rammekens, the earl, as he himself informs us,<sup>9</sup> endeavoured to expedite the advance of the armament up the West Schelde; but his advice and remonstrances (he adds) did not operate so effectually as to ensure the success of the enterprise. The admiral was of opinion, that, by the march of the army across South Beverland, the attempt might much sooner be made, than by a difficult passage through the windings of an intricate channel: but, as

<sup>9</sup> In the narrative which he presented to the king.

the general preferred the latter mode, it was necessary to warp the vessels with great labour, and frequently against the wind.

The siege was at length accompanied with a furious bombardment, which made dreadful havock in the town. A cannonade from many of the ships also increased the consternation of the inhabitants: an entrenchment and a battery were stormed; and a lodgement was effected within musquest shot of the walls. General Monnet, being summoned to surrender by sir Eyre Coote, the director of the siege, at first evaded the demand; but a renewal of attack induced him to capitulate. The garrison, amounting to 5800 men, submitted to the disgrace of captivity. The number of killed and wounded, from the investment to the surrender, probably exceeded 2000; while those who suffered, on the part of the invaders, from the day of the disembarkation, were about 800.<sup>10</sup>

In the mean time, the report of the expedition had drawn a great force to Antwerp and its vicinity; and the enemy's movements portended a vigorous opposition. The voyage up the Schelde was still delayed; and, ten days after the reduction of Flushing, the fleet had not proceeded far beyond Batz. It was then calculated, that all the force which could be brought into action, after leaving sufficient garrisons in the islands of Walcheren and South Beverland, would not exceed 25,000 men; and, with this number, the earl and the principal officers despaired of farther success. They were informed that the ships which they wished to destroy were protected by the citadel of Antwerp, and that this town was in a complete state of defence; and, as it would be necessary to employ strong detachments in observing the garrisons of Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, they did not conceive that the remaining force would be adequate to the sieges of the forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoeck, which must precede the grand attack. There was another discouraging circumstance, which ought to have been foreseen, but against which the ministry had not taken proper precautions. It was well known, from the information of a celebrated physician,<sup>11</sup> who had ably treated of the diseases of the army, that, near the close of the summer and in the autumn, a bilious remittent fever prevailed in the isle of Walcheren, and the neighbouring parts of the Netherlands: yet those arrangements for which the risque of such a disorder peculiarly called, were neglected. It began to show itself soon after the

<sup>10</sup> Or, if we may trust to private letters, 900 or 1000.

<sup>11</sup> Sir John Pringle.

surrender ; and (says the general) "it hourly increased to an alarming extent."

These considerations deterred the earl from the prosecution of the enterprise. The admiral, being present at a consultation, offered all the aid of the fleet for the reduction of the fortresses ; but, when he found that the chief military officers were inclined to relinquish all ulterior attempts, he ceased to urge them on the subject. At that time the enemy seemed to defy the efforts of the English ; for those ships which had been removed five miles above Antwerp, had been brought to the front of the town, and some where even as low down as Lillo. To obstruct the passage, however, a boom had been framed, and it was guarded by a great number of gun-boats. Batteries were also erected on both sides of the river ; and Bernadotte, styled the prince of Ponte-Corvo, an able and experienced general, had been sent to superintend the operations of defence.

The greater part of the army soon after returned to England, leaving for the defence of Walcheren a force debilitated by an insalubrious air, the ill effects of which had been aggravated by the inundations diffused over the country during the siege. A considerable number died ;<sup>12</sup> and, of those who recovered, many were subject to a periodical return of the disorder. Notwithstanding the pestilential nature of the climate, the island was retained for several months, while the war with Austria continued ; but this bold encroachment on the dominions of Napoleon had no effect in procuring better terms of peace for the unfortunate emperor. It was also retained for some time after the pacification between the rival potentates ; but prudence at length required its dereliction. The guns and valuable stores of Flushing were conveyed to the British ships : the

<sup>12</sup> It was stated by sir Lucas Pepys, that more than 1800 had died in the island by the 15th of November. Among these victims, he included those who had fallen in the military operations, without knowing how many were to be separated from the list of those who died of the marsh fever ; but, from the comparatively small number of killed and wounded, mentioned in the official accounts, it may be concluded, that, even if a great proportion of the wounded died, at least 1300 must have been sacrificed to a noxious climate ; and from that time to the February following, about 1350 died in the hospitals of England. This statement sufficiently manifests the improvidence and humanity of the ministers. Yet there were some courtly writers who did not scruple to applaud both the projection and conduct of the expedition, admiring the commencement and the process *ab ovo usque ad mala*. This equivocality of expression, which only the classical reader will understand, is not uttered in the spirit of pleasantry, but with a tone of serious feeling, allusive to the *mischiefs* of the enterprise, for which the temporary and useless conquest of Walcheren afforded no adequate compensation.



basin and dock-heads were blown up, and all the works of the harbour destroyed; and the arsenal and store-houses were involved in flames. The troops were then, to their great joy, permitted to visit England.

This expedition will long be remembered, as disgraceful to the ministry; but some of the maritime enterprises of the year are entitled to a better character. It was reported in the spring, that eleven ships of the line and four frigates were in the road of Aix; and, as it was supposed that they might be attacked with advantage, lord Cochrane was ordered by lord Gambier, at the particular desire of the board of admiralty, to undertake the hazardous service. An officer whose exertions promised to be more efficacious could not easily have been found. While the principal squadron remained at anchor near the island, a number of fire-ships and gun-brigs proceeded to the attack; but, amidst the darkness of the night, the whole number could not be brought into action. The approach of this flotilla intimidated the enemy into a retreat towards the shore; and, in the morning, lord Cochrane informed the admiral, by a telegraphic signal, that seven of the French ships were in such a position, as to present an opportunity of destroying them. Some ships of the line and frigates were then sent forward, and opened a cannonade upon all the ships which were within reach. One quickly struck to the Imperieuse, in which his lordship had taken his station: it was set on fire, after the removal of the prisoners; and two other vessels were also destroyed by the assailants, beside one which was burned by the enemy; while some of the rest were irreparably injured.<sup>13</sup>

In the Mediterranean, lord Collingwood and his officers maintained the honour of the British flag. Beside inferior services, he made such arrangements, as occasioned the destruction of three ships of the line, which had ventured to quit the harbour of Toulon; and the store-vessels which were under the escort of the former, and intended for the French at Barcelona, were burned or captured.

Some colonial acquisitions also rewarded, in this year, the exertions of the English. In concert with the Portuguese, they made a descent on the isle of Cayenne, and, with little

<sup>13</sup> London Gazette Extraordinary of April 21.—As lord Cochrane objected to the vote of thanks intended for lord Gambier, the admiral demanded a court-martial for the investigation of his conduct; and, after an impartial enquiry, he was honorably acquitted. The accuser had declared it to be his opinion, that, by proper attention and diligence, almost the whole French Fleet might have been destroyed; but the greater part of the English squadron, he said, remained inactive

difficulty or loss seized all the settlements. A more important expedition was that which was undertaken for the reduction of the most valuable French island in the West Indies. Lieutenant-general Beckwith and rear-admiral Cochrane sailed with 9500 men; and, when one division of the army had disembarked on the windward coast of Martinique, a proclamation was issued, inviting the inhabitants to submit to the British government, as the only resource against the famine that had long harrassed them, and the oppressions under which they groaned. The militia seemed disposed to remain quiet; but the regular troops thought it their duty to make some resistance. Two batteries, which threatened to obstruct the landing of the second division, were silenced by a party of marines. At Morne Brune, a spirited action inflicted considerable loss on both parties; and the heights of Sourier were also well contested; but both stations were taken by assault. The lower fort was quickly taken, as was also the post of St. Pierre. Fort Royal was not defended; and a cannonade and bombardment of six days intimidated the garrison of Fort Bourbon into a capitulation,<sup>14</sup> within four weeks after the departure of the armament from Barbadoes. This speedy success, achieved amidst incessant rains, reflected honour on the gallant soldiers and their naval associates.

The possession of the island of St. Domingo was still disputed. When the French under Le Clerc made their grand attempt for its recovery, that detachment which he sent to secure the ancient capital might have been overpowered by Paul, the brother of Toussaint, if he had not been surprised in an unprepared state: but, as the white inhabitants were inclined to support the pretensions of the French, the city was surrendered to Kerversan, who enjoyed his command unmolested, until general Ferrand, on the decline of the European interest in the northern and western parts of the island, violently dispossessed him of his power, and sent him back to France. This officer ably withstood the assaults of Dessalines upon the town of St. Domingo, and retained for some years the chief authority: but, when intelligence had been received of the dissolution of all the ties which had long connected the French and Spanish nations, the citizens and provincials took up arms against him, and defeated him at Seibo; and, knowing himself to be an object of general odium, he killed himself in despair. His successor, Barquier, rendered himself equally unpopular by his tyrannical government; and all his efforts for the subjugation of the

14 On the 24th of February.

Spaniards and their associates were unsuccessful. Yet he defended the city for eight months, and flattered himself with the hope of continued possession, from his expectation of a great reinforcement, consisting of whites, people of colour, and negroes, who had emigrated amidst former convulsions, and who, after a temporary occupation of Cuba and Louisiana, meditated a return to the island which they had quitted. The Spanish leader was Ramírez, who, for want of heavy artillery, found himself unable to reduce a fortified town. He was at length gladdened with the arrival of succours. A British squadron appeared before the city; and, when major general Carmichael had made a descent with troops and artillery, Barquier, apprehensive of an assault, proposed a negotiation, which, after earnest endeavours on the part of the garrison to secure an honorable retreat, terminated in an agreement, importing that they should be conveyed to France, but should be considered as prisoners of war. Grateful for the seasonable aid which was thus afforded, the Spanish commander, who now assumed the colonial government, agreed to a treaty in the name of Ferdinand, allowing to the British traders the same commercial advantages which were enjoyed by the subjects of Spain, in all the ports of Hispaniola. At the time when the Spaniards met with this unexpected success, the other parts of the island were under the sway of Christophe, the mulatto Petion, and Philip Dos. The first ruled over the largest share of the population, and had for his capital the town of Cape Francois; the second, who resided at Port-au-Prince, was more civilized than his black rival;<sup>15</sup> and the third, whose power extended over some of the central districts, gradually augmented, by plausible promises, the number of his dependants.<sup>16</sup>

In the same year, the French were dispossessed of some European islands. A small armament being sent into the Ionian sea, brigadier Oswald landed at Zante, compelled the garrison to surrender, and made arrangements with the principal inhabitants for their provisional governments; assuring them that his sovereign only wished to deliver them from the French yoke, and to protect them in the enjoyment of their religious and civil rights. Proceeding to Cephalonia, he took

<sup>15</sup> These two chieftains had joined their arms, in 1806, for the ruin of Dessalines, whose tyranny and cruelty had excited general odium. He was dispossessed of his chief towns, and, in endeavouring to prevent the seizure of his person, he received the just retribution of his crimes.

<sup>16</sup> Walton's Present State of the Spanish Colonies, vol. i.

possession of that island without the least opposition ; but, at Caigo, the resistance of the garrisons of three forts exposed them to the consequences of an assault. They were reduced to the necessity of surrendering, as prisoners of war, to the great joy of the inhabitants ; and, in the isle of Ithaca, no defence was even attempted.

The conquest of these islands did not please the grand signor, who wished to retain them under his protection ; but he acquiesced in the transfer of authority which he had not the power of preventing. After the deposition of Selim, Mustapha had reigned in tranquility, until the ambition of Bairactar, the pasha of Rudshuck, excited dangerous commotions, during which Selim was put to death, and his successor dethroned and imprisoned ; whose half brother was elevated to the sovereignty, under the designation of Mahmoud II.<sup>17</sup> ; and Bairactar acted for some months as grand vizir, with a spirit which seemed almost to promise a regeneration of the empire. By attempting, however, to follow those schemes of military innovation which had occasioned the ruin of Selim, he excited general disgust, which all his vigour could not allay. The Janisaries conspired against him, murdered their aga for not joining them, and attacked the soldiers of the new institution. Furious conflicts ensued, in which a great number fell on each side ; and, at the same time, incendiary rage, the usual accompaniment of a Turkish tumult, made great havock among the buildings of the city. The insurgents even attacked the seraglio, to which the obnoxious minister had retired. In the phrenzy of despair, he ordered the deposed sultan Mustapha to be strangled, and, firing a mass of gunpowder, blew himself up, with many of his adherents.<sup>18</sup> After seven days of commotion, the storm subsided, without the dethronement of Mahmoud, who found the means of pacifying the Janisaries. As the Russians were not disposed to agree to such terms as he deemed reasonable, the sultan now listened to the propositions of Mr. Adair, the British minister, and a treaty was concluded,<sup>19</sup> restoring the relations of peace and amity.

The Russians did not prosecute the war against the Turks with that vigour which was calculated to reduce the enemy to despair, or to lead the invaders to the gates of Constantinople. They were unsuccessful in various conflicts ; and

<sup>17</sup> On the 29th of July, 1808. — This prince had been frequently called Mahomet, or Mohammed ; but he would then have been the fifth of the name.

<sup>18</sup> In November, 1808.

<sup>19</sup> On the 15th of January.

their Servian allies were also repeatedly obliged to yield to the fury of their opponents. The same spirit of ambition which had prompted Alexander to engage in a contest with the Porte, hurried him into a war with the Persians, against whom he sent a considerable army from Georgia : but his troops were defeated with great loss. As it was suspected by Futteh Ali, the Persian king, that while his friendship was seemingly courted by the French, they had instigated the Russians to attack him, he treated general Gardanne, Napoleon's representative with visible coolness, and, on the arrival of an ambassador from Great Britain, was easily persuaded to form a friendly connexion with this country.

The northern emperor did not so far evince his subserviency to his ally, as to join him in actual hostilities against Austria. He ordered, however, a suspension of amicable intercourse, and meanly consented to plunder his former friend, who, after a long negotiation, acceded to a treaty which was both disadvantageous and disgraceful. Francis not Oct. 14. only ceded the territory of Saltzburg, and a part of Upper Austria, for the benefit of that confederacy which his great enemy had organized in Germany, but resigned to the French the county of Goritia, the province of Carniola, the government and city of Trieste, and, indeed, all his dominions on the right bank of the Save ; gave up to the king of Saxony some districts in Bohemia, and the whole of West Gallicia ; and permitted Alexander to take possession of a part of East Gallicia. He even became so submissive to the dictates of Napoleon, as to confirm all the alterations which had taken place in Spain, Portugal, and Italy ; and such future changes in those countries, as might originate from the wanton caprice of despotism, were to receive the sanction of the humiliated prince, who, after this extent of loss, could only expect to reign over the rest of his territories as the vassal of the Corsican, unless a favourable conjuncture should arise, in which a grand confederacy might be formed, for crushing the exorbitant and dangerous power of the tyrant.



## LETTER XIV.

*A Survey of the second Campaign in Spain and Portugal.*

A. D. 1809. THE result of the late campaign in the Spanish provinces did not discourage either party. Each had great resources; and each looked forward to ultimate success. The French, in particular, banished all doubt from their minds, and exulted in the magnitude of the expected conquest.

The supposed security of Madrid induced the usurper to resume his residence in that city; and he announced his return by the pageantry of a pompous procession. Bodies of infantry lined the streets: the cavalry advanced before him; all the officers of state, splendidly arrayed, attended him on horseback; he received from the governor the keys of the city, and, being introduced by the clergy into the church of St. Isidore, he addressed from the throne his assembled subjects. He declared, that he was not prompted by his private inclinations, but solely by his sense of duty, to undertake the arduous task of royalty; and that he was willing to risque the sacrifice of his own happiness, because the people of Spain required his exertions for the establishment of their prosperity. Mass was then solemnized; and don Joseph Napoleon proceeded to the palace, which he entered amidst the roar of artillery. The town was illuminated for three nights, and apparent joy prevailed: yet, to every intelligent Spaniard, to every one who had honorable and patriotic feelings, the intruder was an object of contempt.

Having, as he fondly thought, established himself in the sovereignty, he proceeded to a settlement of the national affairs, and to an enforcement of the ordinances of his imperial brother, who, before he left Madrid, had decreed that the court of inquisition should be abolished, that many monasteries should be suppressed, and feudal privileges annihilated. The attention of the court was more particularly directed to financial and military concerns. The former branch of policy was in a state of great confusion; and all the endeavours of the new government did not place it on a regular basis. The organization of the army was more systematically conducted

and its brutal tyranny was encouraged by the court, while the people were unsubdued. Flagitious outrages were perpetrated with impunity; and death was denounced against all who should enter into the service of the grand junta. To check this ferocious spirit, the council of Seville ordained, that all French soldiers who might be captured in any town or district, in which acts of cruelty had been committed by the enemy, should be immediately put to death. This menace was not invariably executed: and, even if it had been, it would not have effectually repressed the outrages of the French, who would have defied the consequences of those atrocious acts of hostility, in which they were encouraged by the innate depravity and infamous barbarity of their master.

While the usurper was employed in strengthening his government, hostilities were continued in various parts of the kingdom. The marquis de la Romana still erected in Galicia the standard of Ferdinand; the duke del Infantado had been severely harrassed, but was yet unconquered; and other patriotic generals were again prepared to face the enemies of Spain. The people of Saragossa, being exposed to the renewed dangers of a siege, held out to their countrymen, under the eye of Palafox, an example of resolute intrepidity, which, though it did not save their city, had an animating effect over the country. They repelled various attacks for two months; and, though the town was then more seriously threatened, they did not despair of success. A multitude of women, pretending to invite the approach of the enemy, as if they were disgusted at the obstinacy of the men, drew into the city a numerous body of the besiegers, upon whom a sudden attack was made with such vigor and effect, that only a small proportion of their number escaped. The siege at length became a contest for streets and houses: mining and countermining led to subterranean conflicts; and great havoc was made both by bombs and by cannon. Being frequently reinforced, the French finally prevailed over the patriots, and marshal Lasnes obtained full possession of the town, dictating his will without allowing a regular capitulation. At least 20,000 of the defenders Feb. 21. may be supposed to have fallen during the siege.

At the time of this success, the French boasted, that they had restored their authority in all the provinces extending from the Pyrenees to New-Castile, and from the northern coast to the Portuguese frontiers; and marshal Soult hoped to extend their sway by the terrors of a new invasion. Not expecting a vigorous resistance from the Portuguese, who had only a small

British force to defend their country, he crossed the Minho, and menaced the kingdom with outrage and devastation. When his van-guard approached Braga, the armed inhabitants and a body of peasants offered their services to general Freire, whom they requested to lead them without delay against the enemy; and, on his refusal, some of them were so irritated, that they murdered him as a betrayer of their cause, even before it was discovered that he had actually entered into a traitorous correspondence with the enemy. They then hastened to meet the invaders, and sacrificed many to their fury, without preventing the advance of Soult, who, after the sanguinary defeat of several armed bodies, reached Oporto. The city, though it was strongly garrisoned, and furnished with 200 pieces of artillery, was quickly taken by the French, in consequence of the disunion and insubordination of the Portuguese, whom general Beresford reprehended with just severity in a proclamation, calculated to rouse them to patriotic exertions.

The army commanded by Soult not being sufficiently strong for the conquest of Portugal, Victor had concerted with that commander a plan of simultaneous operations, intending to enter the kingdom by the way of Badajoz. He passed the Tagus at Almaraz; and, having stormed an entrenched position in his progress, advanced to Medellin, where March 29. he engaged the Estremaduran army. The right wing of the Spaniards contended with such vigor, as to throw the French left into disorder; but their cavalry did not emulate the example of resolute intrepidity; nor did the left and the centre exert those persevering efforts which might have secured the victory. Cuesta then recalled his right, and ordered a general retreat. About 6000 of his men were killed wounded or captured; while the French who suffered were at least 3500. About the same time, Sebastiani, encountered an army of Andalusians at Ciudad-Real, and greatly thinned the opposing ranks.

When the Portuguese were in constant apprehension of an attack upon Lisbon, a reinforcement arrived from Great Britain; and sir Arthur Wellesley, superseding sir John Cradock, prepared to contend with Soult. In his advance to Oporto, three partial engagements occurred, in which the troops displayed great courage and alacrity. The passage over the Douro was obstructed, but without effect, by the personal exertions of the marshal, who retreated after a considerable loss, abandoning a part of his artillery. After the recovery of Oporto, sir Arthur eagerly pursued the French general, who,

leaving his sick and wounded, and destroying whatever could retard his escape, fled into Spain. The pursuers traced his route by the smoke of burning villages, and by other marks of barbarian hostility and vengeance.

Encouraged by the zeal of the marquis de la Romana, the Gallicians manifested a resolute spirit, which tended to convince the enemy, that Spain could not easily be subdued. They opposed Ney at the bridge of San Payo with an intrepidity which appalled his followers. We are informed by a British officer,<sup>1</sup> who gave naval aid to the Spaniards on this occasion, that 10,500 of the French experienced a defeat from a newly-raised army, consisting of 6000 armed men and 3000 without arms. The consequence of this check was the evacuation of Corunna and of Ferrol, of which the English seamen took possession. Compostella had previously been recovered by general Carrera; and the governor of the province resumed his legitimate authority.

The Austrian war gave a sudden check to the offensive operations of the French in Spain. Napoleon recalled a part of his force from that country, and sent orders for temporary caution, if not absolute forbearance. Victor now relinquished his intention of proceeding into Portugal; while Cuesta, whose conduct at Medellin had been publicly applauded by the junta, moved forward to harass the less active foe. Reflecting on the state of affairs, sir Arthur Wellesley flattered himself with the hope of obtaining an important victory, if he could bring the enemy's chief force into action, before it should form a junction with other armies. The scheme was rash, and might have been extremely injurious. Pleased at his advance, the French hoped to draw him so far into Spain, as to find an opportunity of intercepting his retreat. They resumed an offensive attitude, and concentrated an ample force between Torrijos and Toledo. Their chief commanders were Jourdan, Victor, and Sebastiani, who rather directed the operations of the usurper, than received instructions from him. While they were on their march, the British general fixed upon the neighborhood of Talavera de la Reyna as the best spot for their reception. He formed an advanced post in a wood on the right bank of the Alberche; and, extending his line for the space of two miles, stationed his right wing, which was composed of Spanish troops, in and near a town, all the avenues to which were defended by batteries; placed the British army

<sup>1</sup> Captain Mac-Kinley.

in a plain to the left, and also upon a hill, between which and a more commanding eminence was an unoccupied valley; and in the centre, he disposed some brigades of both nations on rising ground, with orders for the immediate construction of a redoubt. The battle commenced with an assault upon the troops near the Alberche; and, as it was not intended that they should obstinately defend that position, they retreated to the rear of the general line, under a very heavy fire, which they sustained with great coolness. In the evening, the enemy made an impetuous charge upon the left, and attempted to seize the hill: it was yielded for a time, but was recovered at the point of the bayonet by major-general Hill. An attack upon the right, by a body of cavalry, was equally unsuccessful. The attempt upon the hill was renewed in the night, and early the following day, without the desired effect. After some hours of forbearance, the French brought their whole force into action. Some British and Spanish cavalry July 28. had been posted in the valley after the repulse of the enemy, who, on the other hand, placed light infantry on the heights beyond it. Several columns then marched to re-attack the left wing; but they were so warmly opposed, that they abandoned all hopes of forcing it. Sebastiani's division exerted its vigour against the centre, and compelled some battalions, and even the guards to give way. The advance of a regiment from the left, however, soon revived courage, and restored order; and the disappointment of the enemy's hopes produced a general retreat. About 10,000 of the partisans of Joseph were killed or wounded; and the number of those who suffered in the British army exceeded 4700, while those who had disappeared were calculated at 650. Of the Spaniards, by Cuesta's account, about 1200 lost their lives or received wounds. If they had displayed the same courage and zeal which their allies manifested, the enemy might have been totally routed, instead of being suffered to retire quietly in the night: yet it ought to be observed, that the mere appearance of so considerable a force, ready to act as occasion might require, had a favourable effect, and tended to encourage one army and check the other; and to the mention of that firmness which withstood an equestrian charge, it may be added, that two days before the principal battle, Cuesta's advanced guard, being exposed to a fierce attack near Torrijos, displayed some alacrity in resistance, if it did not repel the assailants.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> According to major-general Mac-Kinnon, the British force consisted of 20,000 infantry and 2500 cavalry; while Cuesta reckoned 26,000 men under his im-



This apparent victory had not the immediate effect which might have been expected from it. The advance of Soult and Ney with 25,000 men encouraged the retiring troops to a resumption of courage and alacrity; and they seemed inclined to force the post of Talavera, which Cuesta occupied with his army. It was proposed that the passes of Banos and Perales should be defended; but the Spanish general was so slow in the execution even of those arrangements which he had recommended, that the former position was left without succour; and Placentia was seized by the advancing enemy, whose progress intimidated the Spaniards into an abandonment of Talavera, where 1500 of the wounded were unfortunately left. Lord Wellington was displeased at this movement, as it exposed the combined troops to the risque of a simultaneous attack in the front and rear; and as he reposed little confidence in the Spaniards, and was doubtful of the practicability of a retreat in case of discomfiture, he resolved to make an immediate choice of a defensive position. He ordered the army to cross the Tagus at the bridge of Argobispo, and fixed his station at Deyleytosa, where he thought himself well situated for the defence of Almaraz and the lower parts of the river.

Although the battle of Talavera was followed by retrogradation and mere defence, it was generally considered as far from being a fruitless conflict, since it elevated, both among hostile and friendly nations, the fame of the British arms, and tended to invigorate and confirm that spirit of resistance, which, though occasionally unsuccessful, promised the most beneficial result. Yet the danger to which the Spaniards were still exposed by the want of a regular system and of a government properly framed and united, by the impolitic division of military command, and the continuance of abuses and grievances in every branch of administration, alarmed the enemies of France, and gave particular uneasiness to the British ministry. To promote a change of conduct, the marquis Wellesley, who had infused vigor and unity into the government of India, had

mediate command, and Venegas had 20,000. But if this estimate be correct, it appears that only a small part of Cuesta's force had an active concern in the engagement, and that the troops of Venegas were at a considerable distance. M. de Rocca admits, that the French troops amounted to 47,000 men. The writer blames Joseph for attempting, without military talents or knowledge, to direct the movements of an army in a general engagement. He says that the battle ceased from weariness, and that neither party could justly claim the victory; yet, according to the prevailing notion of the term, he virtually concedes it to the English, who (he says) were astonished, when the next morning dawned, at finding that their enemies had retreated to their former position, abandoning twenty pieces of cannon. It is acknowledged by the English, that this retreat was conducted with order and ability.

been sent by his majesty to the seat of the supreme junta ; and, after a delay which was seemingly unnecessary, he arrived at Cadiz when his brother, a reputed victor, was retreating. He was treated with politeness, and his suggestions were received with respectful attention. He mentioned the necessity of supplying the wants of the British troops, and of facilitating their progress, that they might not be obliged to quit the country. He hinted the expediency of appointing the gallant general, who had so resolutely supported the cause of an injured nation, to the chief command of the Spanish army, which would thus be more effectually united with its allies. The native troops, he said, ought to be subjected to a new organization and to a more efficient discipline ; public spirit ought to be more eagerly promoted ; the ruling council, being too numerous for an executive body, might prudently be diminished ; and the convocation of the cortes ought not to be delayed. The tardiness of Spanish deliberation did not immediately adopt these useful hints : yet the wisdom of the ambassador made some impression upon the most intelligent members of the junta.

General Cuesta had ventured to remonstrate against the retreat of sir Arthur Wellesley, alleging the probability of defeating the French by a strict union and concert : but the British commander was so disgusted at the conduct of the Spaniards in the late battle, that, in a letter addressed to his brother, while he acknowledged the insufficiency of his army to withstand the French without assistance, he declared it to be his opinion, that he ought to renounce all ideas of co-operation with the native troops. Cuesta was, soon after, obliged by the approach of the enemy to retreat with precipitation and loss ; and sir Robert Wilson, who had recently pushed some parties of his small corps almost to the gates of Madrid, was attacked at Banos, but did not retire before he had defended the pass for nine hours. Venegas, about the same time, had an unfortunate engagement at Almonacid. He formed an extended line, in the hope of turning the flanks of the enemy, who, deriding his efforts, penetrated the line in various parts, and totally routed his army.

While the British troops remained on the defensive, some of the Spanish generals were diligently employed in re-organizing their respective armies. The duke del Parque was particularly active in this service ; and his troops, posted on the heights of Tamames, found an opportunity of exertion, in consequence of an attack from general Marchand, who endeavoured to turn their left. The retreat of the cavalry gave the

assailants a temporary advantage ; but the steady valor of the infantry at length put them to flight. A speedy effect of this success was the recovery of Salamanca ; but no important consequences resulted from it.

Amidst these operations, the conduct of the junta did not give general satisfaction. Its endeavours to array the nation against the invaders were censured as feeble and inefficient : its direction of the disposable force was pronounced injudicious, particularly in unseasonably risking offensive operations in La Mancha ; its inattention to that branch of the war which was connected with the defence of fortresses, also excited animadversion ; and many discontented politicians demanded a more systematic display of vigor and energy than the assembly had yet evinced. A small council of regency, chosen with the most deliberate discrimination, was proposed as a substitute, until the *cortes* should meet ; and, as this seemed to be the prevalent opinion, the members so far admitted the principle, that they named a committee of six of their number for the enforcement of decisive measures of war and policy. They found a warm opposer of their continued authority, in the marquis de la Romana, who not only condemned their conduct, but denied the legitimacy of their power. His exertions, being strongly supported by the remonstrances of other distinguished patriots, procured the emission of a ma-  
Oct. 28.  
 nifesto, stating the exigencies and announcing the good  
 hopes of the nation, and ordaining the convocation of a representative assembly.

In this proclamation it was observed, that an absurd and feeble tyranny had paved the way for French despotism, which at first appeared with a flattering exterior, promising reform in the administration, and announcing the empire of the laws ; but the Spaniards were neither so deficient in penetration, as to be deluded by the artifices of intriguing politicians, nor so spiritless as to submit to the mandates of tyrants. They therefore rushed into arms, and soon obtained, by their patriotic enthusiasm, the honours and rewards of victory. Instead of falling into anarchy, they regenerated and recomposed the state ; and established, without violence or disorder, a supreme government and a commanding authority. The central junta, while expulsion of the enemy was its first object, attended with zeal to the removal of abuses ; and, as soon as the turbulence of war allowed, announced the revival of the *cortes*,—a name which recalled ideas of legitimate and constitutional sway, connecting the rights of the people with the support of

the throne. Some were of opinion, that a regency of three or five persons, without a representative body, would answer every purpose of good government; but such an administration would be accessible to the intrigues of the tyrant and his emissaries, and would not be able to enforce that general submission which the imposing authority of a national council would command. Others were inclined to maintain the preference of the different juntas, as representative bodies, to the proposed assembly, because they concluded that it would be constituted in the ancient mode, so as not sufficiently to represent the people; but it was the intention of the ruling council to make such arrangements as would tend to a removal of this objection. The promised convocation, it was hoped, would prove the best remedy for the disorders of the state; would call forth all the energies of the nation, confound the views of the enemy, and secure the triumph of the glorious cause of freedom and independence.

If the safety of Spain so essentially depended on the meeting of the cortes, the interval was unreasonably extended, as the deputies were not to enter upon their functions before the first of March in the ensuing year. The notice was too long for the crisis; yet a much longer period was suffered to elapse before the representatives had their first meeting. In the intervening time, the danger of the nation seemed to increase; but the people were not so depressed by their misfortunes, as to resign the hope of ultimate triumph.

The promise of a more regular and legitimate government might be expected to invigorate the exertions of the patriots; but the zeal of the inhabitants of Gerona did not require such a *stimulus*. Emulating the fame of the defenders of Saragossa, they long defied all the efforts of hostility. They bravely sustained the most impetuous attacks, and repeatedly enforced a discontinuance of the investment. The neighbouring castle of Monjuich, though not strongly garrisoned, was defended with great resolution. Five assaults, consequent upon the supposed practicability of three breaches, were repelled; and the besiegers were obliged to continue their operations for five subsequent weeks, before the danger of destruction prompted the remaining occupants to retire into the city.

General Blake, who had twice contended with Suchet in the Arragonian province, and had not been able, on either occasion, to prevent his discouraged men from retreating, hoped to be more successful in an attempt for the relief of Gerona, which was not then very closely invested. While one part of

his army attacked the enemy at Brunolas, another division found an opportunity of entering the city, recruiting the garrison, and supplying its wants.

Above four months after the first investment, when three breaches had been made in the walls, the besiegers expected the speedy reduction of the place. Three strong columns were sent forward to an assault; and vengeance seemed Sept. 19. to impend over the patriotic defenders. To oppose the intended attack, the governor, don Mariano Alvarez, made such dispositions as the time and his limited means allowed; and the breaches were guarded with great courage and indefatigable vigilance. The enemy entered at two of the openings, and penetrated to the nearest houses; but the intruders were speedily crushed. Other attempts were made with equal audacity, and baffled with equal spirit. About 800 of the assailants, according to the Spanish account, were killed; and the repulse operated for some time as a serious discouragement.

As the possession of Hostalrich, and the vicinity of Blake's army, tended to prolong the defence of Gerona, marshal Angereau resolved to seize the former town and defeat the general; and he was enabled by the great superiority of his force, to accomplish both objects. He dislodged Blake from the heights of Brunolas, and drove him to a remote station. The gates of Hostalrich were fired; the defenders were attacked in every street, and overwhelmed. Precluded from farther supply, and hopeless of relief, Alvarez at length capitulated; and the garrison submitted to captivity. Dec. 10.

High expectations were entertained of the army of La Mancha, when the Marquis of Arezaga had superseded Venegas in the command. It was confidently hoped, that the new general would be able to advance to Madrid, in defiance of all opposition, and expel the ignoble intruder who styled himself king; but fortune did not, at this time, second the efforts of the Spaniards. The French, conducted by the usurper, attacked the marquis near Ocana; and an animated contest ensued. For two hours the enemy did not make a very forcible impression. So gallantly did the Spanish infantry, particularly the division of Lacy, contend for victory, that a great part of the French line fell back in disorder; but the superiority of the hostile artillery, and the timid and irresolute behaviour of the native cavalry, whose flight had an ill effect upon the rest of the army, enabled the foe to triumph. Above Nov. 19.



10,000 of the vanquished were killed, wounded, or made prisoners.

Another defeat quickly followed. The duke of del Parque, being attacked at Alba on the Tormes, withstood repeated assaults: but he did not derive from the cavalry that support which he expected; and the impetuous vigour of the French drove him, after the fall of a great number of his countrymen, to the mountainous confines of Galicia. Thus, when the second year of the war terminated, the dark clouds of misfortune hung over the patriotic cause.

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## LETTER XV.

*View of the Affairs of Great Britain and France, and of the Disputes of both Nations with the American Republic.*

AMIDST the varied enterprises of policy and war, the A. D. 1809. British cabinet exhibited an aspect of exterior harmony: yet a difference of opinion occasionally arose, which threatened serious discord. Mr. Canning was not perfectly pleased with the counsels or the conduct of Lord Castlereagh, whom he considered as an incompetent minister for the arduous department of war, at a crisis of national danger. He therefore stated to the duke of Portland his intention of relinquishing his office, unless his lordship should either retire from power, or be removed to another branch of the administration. The duke, unwilling to give offence to lord Castlereagh, and being unprepared for any new arrangements, remonstrated against the secretary's proposal, and long delayed the communication of the affair to his majesty. Disgusted at this delay, Mr. Canning tendered his resignation, but was desired to retain his office until some new dispositions relative to the business of the war department should be made. Finding that these alterations would not prevent his lordship from superintending the expedition to the Schelde, he objected to the scheme; and, when a new plan was proposed, it was not adopted, because it was understood that the rival minister, would not agree to it. To facilitate a general arrangement,

earl Camden offered to resign his employment; and the duke then promised to gratify Mr. Canning with the appointment of his friend, the marquis Wellesley, to that post which lord Castlereagh might be induced to resign, if another office should be vacated for his acceptance. This scheme, however, was postponed to the termination of the grand enterprise; and, from the fear of wounding the irritable feelings of its projector, these intrigues were enveloped in secrecy. The secretary constantly disclaimed all wishes of concealment: but, as none of his colleagues, for five months, would venture to disclose the machinations, it was his duty either to resign at first, or to state the whole affair to the war minister. There was no necessity for his yielding to the remonstrances of the premier, whose timidity on this occasion was augmented by age and ill health, and who now declared his determination of retiring from the helm, that he might not belong to a divided cabinet. Earl Camden at length imparted the secret to lord Castlereagh, who, having announced his resignation, called into the field of *honour* his political enemy. It was not the demand of his removal, said his lordship, that excited his indignation; but he resented that duplicity which had deluded him into an opinion of the sincere and friendly concurrence of a fellow-minister, who in the mean time, had virtually superceded him. To neither of the combatants did the duel prove fatal. Mr. Canning was wounded; but he was soon declared to be out of danger. Earl Bathurst, the president of the board of trade, was now appointed secretary of state for foreign affairs; and lord Hawkesbury (who, by his father's death, had become earl of Liverpool) acted as the war minister, resigning to Mr. Richard Ryder the seals of the home department.

The duke of Portland died soon after he had witnessed the entrance of his sovereign into the fiftieth year of his reign. He had less eloquence than most of his colleagues; but he was equal to any of them in soundness of judgment. He could speak pertinently in a few words; yet he very rarely delivered his opinions in parliament. Before his junction with Mr. Pitt he enjoyed a reputation of a patriot; and he did not necessarily forfeit this honorable character by being alarmed into the support of the ruling power: but, like earl Stanhope, the minister of George the First, he was induced to give way to the prevailing system, and to acquiesce in that corruption which he could not prevent.

While the duke was yet in power, his intention of retiring, and the resignation of the rival secretaries, obliged the other

ministers to seek an opportunity of strengthening the cabinet. To lord Grenville and earl Grey their views were immediately directed; and these statesmen were requested to communicate with the earl of Liverpool and Mr. Perceval, "for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration." But the invited peers, being aware that their acceptance of officers would not give them the influence and authority to which they thought themselves entitled, as they had reason to expect that the existing ministers would bear the chief sway, declined the honor of association. Both alleged, that their compliance would probably be unproductive of any public benefit; and lord Grenville particularly observed, that his acquiescence might be considered as a dereliction of public principle.

The rejection of this overture induced the king to promote Mr. Perceval, on the duke's death, to the station of first lord of the treasury; and it was intended, that the marquis Wellesley, when he had executed his commission in Spain, should exercise his great abilities in the cabinet.

By the general assent of the people, a jubilee was celebrated on the forty-ninth anniversary of the king's accession:<sup>1</sup> but the festivity was premature, as the completion of fifty years promised to offer a more regular opportunity. A form of thanksgiving, adapted to the occasion, was introduced among the prayers of the church: the places of worship were opened, and appropriate discourses followed the ordinary service. The zeal of loyalty pervaded the kingdom: illuminations, some of which were remarkably splendid, enlivened the capital and many of the provincial towns: municipal entertainments, and private parties, diffused the amicable interchange of political sentiments and the joys of social intercourse; and liberality to the poor formed a pleasing feature in the celebrity.

Jan. 23, 1810. At the renewed meeting of the parliament, the continuance of the war was stated to be necessary for the safety of Great Britain, the support of those nations which were oppressed by France, and the ultimate deliverance of Europe. It was admitted, that the principal objects of the expedition to the Schelde had not been attained; but his majesty confidently hoped, that important advantages, in point of

<sup>1</sup> Some persons called it the *fiftieth anniversary*: but they included the first day of the reign in their calculation. That, however, was not a *return* of the day, but the *exclusive* day from which the anniversaries were to be computed. This is a vulgar error, similar to that remark which asserts that any thing *thrice performed* is *thrice repeated*, whereas there are only *two repetitions* in the case.

security, would be found to result from the demolition of the docks and arsenal of Flushing. In the first debate, the opponents of the court manifested their intention of promoting a strict inquiry into that disastrous enterprise. Lord Grenville condemned the whole conduct of the ministry; and, when he proposed an amendment to the address, he was so strongly supported, as to number ninety-two peers on his side: yet the ministry had a majority of fifty-two. The common also agreed to a courtly address; but, when lord Portchester moved for an inquiry, he gained his point by the superiority of nine votes.

The earl of Chatham gave great disgust to the promoters of the investigation, by presenting to his majesty a narrative of his late exploits, not officially or through the medium of a secretary of state, but in an irresponsible way, and with views of sinister influence. His reflections upon the admiral, in that statement, were particularly displeasing to the public; and it was hoped, that the house would stigmatise the irregular and clandestine communication. On the motion of Mr. Whitbread, a vote of censure passed by a majority of thirty-three; and the immediate consequence was the earl's resignation of the office of master-general of the ordinance, in which he was succeeded by lord Mulgrave, whose seat at the board of admiralty was filled by Mr. Yorke.

Of the senators who voted for inquiry, many were not disposed to agree to that condemnation which would probably have pleased the greater part of the community; and, therefore, when lord Portchester moved a series of resolutions, stating the history of the expedition, and criminating its projectors, the ministry triumphed over the presumed sense of the people.<sup>2</sup>

During the investigation, an act of illiberality, on the part of a ministerial member, produced consequences which he did not foresee. It was alleged by Mr. Yorke, that a public deliberation would be inexpedient, as the proceedings of the house might be grossly misrepresented, in the progress of the inquiry, by the reporters of parliamentary debates: he therefore moved for an enforcement of the standing order against the admission of strangers. A proposal of this kind is constantly allowed, as a matter of course: but Mr. Sheridan wished that the order itself might be referred to the consideration of a committee of privileges; and he reprobated the intended exclusion

as an insult to the nation : but it was defended by Mr. Windham, who did not think that it was necessary for the people to receive progressive information of the debates. Sir Francis Burdett took this opportunity of animadverting on the frame and constitution of the house. If all the members were fairly and freely elected, and if no corrupt influence prevailed, he would not object, he said, to that temporary secrecy which might be followed by an impartial publication of the result : but, as the house stood in an opposite predicament, as its conduct had excited just suspicion, as it had lost its character, and “ had not a leg to stand upon,” the proposed concealment would be imprudent and hazardous. A debating society, in announcing its discussion of one question, and stating another for the next meeting, freely censured the enforcement, and thus subjected its leading orator, John Gale Jones, to the vengeance of irritated senators. He was ordered, on the motion of Mr. Yorke, to appear at the bar of the house ; and, although he expressed his contrition for the offence with that humility which ought to have ensured his pardon, he was committed to Newgate for a breach of privilege.

Sir Francis Burdett, conceiving that the liberty of every individual in the kingdom was endangered by an admission of the legality of this vote, which exhibited the commons in the united characters of accusers, judges, and jurors, moved for the release of Jones ; but the house exploded the motion, because the offender had not petitioned for that indulgence. The popular baronet, not content with the imperfect notice which was taken of his remarks in the daily vehicles of political and miscellaneous intelligence, published the entire speech, with an introductory address to his constituents, in which he severely arraigned the conduct of the commons. The late vote, he said, amounted to a declaration, that an order of the house was of greater weight than Magna Charta and the laws of the land ; and, if such an arbitrary assumption of the power of imprisonment should not be opposed, the freedom of the people would be at the mercy of “ a part of their fellow subjects, collected by means which it was not necessary for him to describe.” He declared that the speaker’s warrant, by which an untried subject was outlawed, bore no feature of legality ; and that the whole process against the obnoxious orator was the most unlawful act which the mind of man could conceive. These and other animadversions inflamed the resentment of the courtly members ; and the minister, who might otherwise have suffered the attack to remain unrepelled, was



pleased at the opportunity of diverting the public notice from a disastrous expedition.

Shocked at the baronet's audacity and democratic licentiousness, Mr. Lethbridge urged the house to defend its privileges, and punish the libellous incendiary. Mr. Perceval eagerly supported this appeal to the honour and feelings of the assembly; and Mr. Adam diffusely argued in favour of parliamentary law and privilege. Some members denied, that the speech or the address could justly be termed libellous; but the majority gave a contrary decision; and it was ordered, by a subsequent vote, that sir Francis should be imprisoned in the Tower.

When he was informed of this vote, he declared to his friends that nothing but the exercise of violence should prevail upon him to submit to it. The sergeant at arms procured admission into his house, but was soon desired to quit it; and a messenger, who delivered the warrant of arrest, was sent away with equal disdain and defiance. When the attorney-general had been consulted, he replied, that he did not know of any case precisely in point; but, reasoning from analogy, he replied, that, if the doors should not be opened to the sergeant after a declaration of the cause of his coming, force might be used without a violation of the law. A body of soldiers appearing before the house, sir Francis requested aid from the sheriffs, who were bound, he said, to protect him from oppression. No attention was paid to this application; and April 9. a party of constables, descending into the area, opened a window, and rushed into the house, followed by the speaker's representative, who, finding the baronet still refractory, ordered them to apprehend him. He was conveyed to the Tower, and safely lodged in that fortress, amid the ebullitions of popular tumult. The troops were insulted by the mob; and, on their return, several lives were lost<sup>3</sup> in consequence of that firing which was provoked by the aggression of riotous malcontents, who threw stones and other missiles at the military defenders of parliamentary privilege.

The indignation of sir Francis, at an arrest which he considered as an unjustifiable act of power, prompted him to address a letter to the speaker, disclaiming all obedience to any set of men, who should dare to assume the power of the king, and declaring that he would no longer "make one of such an as-

<sup>3</sup> It appears, however, that one of these victims, at whom a soldier fired through a shop-window, had not in any way attacked or insulted the soldiers.

sociation." Several members advised that this letter should be treated with contempt : but Mr. Perceval wished that it should be stigmatised with strong reprobation ; and one senator, in a high tone, called for the expulsion of its insolent writer. The house unanimously voted, that it was a flagrant breach of privilege ; adding, however, that the subject should be dismissed without farther notice, as the warrant of commitment had been executed. Sir Francis would have been better pleased, if his epistle had been incorporated with the daily votes, as a record of his sentiments ; but he was not indulged with that compliment.

While he remained in confinement, he received from the citizens of London an extraordinary mark of attention and respect. An address had been voted to him, applauding his love of freedom and his regard for the constitution ; and Mr. Wood, one of the sheriffs, conducted the livery-men to the Tower in pompous procession, which was considered by many as an insult to the house of commons, whose determined adversary was thus honoured.

The advocates of that liberty for which the baronet contended, held meetings for the expression of their sentiments ; and petitions, couched in strong and disrespectful language, were presented to the national representatives. By the inhabitants of Westminster, his liberation was demanded, and the necessity of a parliamentary reform was forcibly urged. The livery-men of London, who had recently displeased the court by a spirited philippic against ministerial misconduct, and whose address had not been received with respect, because it was not the act of the corporation, now offended the commons by a petition for the release of sir Francis and of Jones, which the house indignantly rejected as an intemperate application ; but a less acrimonious remonstrance was subsequently received. The majority also exploded a petition from the freeholders of Middlesex, and one which was offered from the inhabitants of Sheffield ; while some others, which were not particularly offensive, were graciously permitted to remain unheeded upon the table.

On the last day of the session, a multitude assembled about the Tower, to congratulate the popular member on the recovery of his liberty, and attend him to his house in ceremonious parade. But, as he was inclined to make a quiet retreat, he disappointed the eager expectants by procuring an aquatic conveyance to Westminster. A procession, however, was arranged by a committee of his friends ; and, in the evening, a

great number of houses were illuminated. He assigned, as the reason of his private departure, a wish for the prevention of disorder and tumult.

The dispute did not thus terminate. Sir Francis brought an action against the speaker of the house for having ordered his arrest. He also sued the sergeant at arms for his execution of the warrant, and the constable of the Tower for the detention of his person: but the court of king's bench disallowed his claim of redress, and vindicated the exercise of parliamentary privilege.

No serious obstacles to the public service, or to the prosecution of the war, arose from the contests of party. The cabinet, strengthened by the accession of the marquis Wellesley, boldly pursued its course, disregarded the murmurs of the moderate, and defied the clamours of the turbulent.

France was less agitated than Great Britain, because the people, being more effectually subdued, were more servile. The dictates of the court were received with general acquiescence; and the government of Napoleon was the theme of admiration and applause. In the display of the state and connexions of France,<sup>4</sup> count Montalivet, expressing the sentiments of his master, observed, that signal victories, generosity in pacification, the results of profound policy, the progress of great public works, and the preservation of internal order and tranquility, were the prominent features of the expiring year. The success of the French, he said, had been great and glorious; and, in the midst of their triumphs, they had remembered mercy; for, while they secured considerable advantages to themselves and their allies, they had not oppressed a vanquished prince. It would have been easy, in the negotiation with Austria, to derive greater benefits from the splendour of conquest: but moderation was advisable, and magnanimity reflected honour on a victorious potentate. With regard to Poland, it was more politic to leave it in a dependent state, and to make transfers of certain portions, than to restore the kingdom. The western division of Galicia, in particular, was prudently given to an ally of France, because the inhabitants, being zealous in the cause of the great nation, would otherwise have been exposed to the keen resentment of the Austrian court. It was intended that the Hans-towns should still be independent; but it was expedient that Holland should be annexed to France, for the establishment of an union which

the national situation of the country strongly recommended. Of Spain and Portugal, the orator lamented the convulsed state; they were, he said, the seats of a furious revolution, excited and fostered by the intrigues and money of Great Britain: but he trusted that the power and moderation of the emperor would restore peace to the peninsula. There was no necessity for the continuance of the Spanish colonies under the yoke of the parent state. If the people should demand independence, France would not oppose so just a claim, on their engaging to abstain from all connexion with the English.

The interior state of the empire was exhibited in a more favourable light than strict truth would have authorised. It was affirmed, that religion exercised its legitimate influence over the nation; that the public institutions highly flourished; that education extended its improved fruits over the whole circle of society; that the mechanic arts were cultivated with great skill and industry; and that, if commerce suffered in the extraordinary state of affairs, the suspension was merely temporary.

As far as appearances could warrant the opinion of secure establishment, the throne of Napoleon was fixed: but, conceiving that a matrimonial alliance with the house of Hapsburg and of Lorrain would tend to the confirmation of his power; and not supposing that a prince whom his arms had so lately vanquished, would presume to reject an overture of this kind from the sovereign of the great empire, he resolved to demand the hand of one of the daughters of Francis. To this union there was one objection; but it was not insurmountable. Policy and the public interest, he said, required that he should leave his throne to his offspring; and, as he had no hope of being a father while he retained his present wife, he was induced, notwithstanding his unabated affection for her, to determine upon a second marriage. Josephine readily assented to the desired repudiation, which was also sanctioned by the recorded approbation of the august relatives of her husband. The senate did not dispute this high authority, but decreed a divorce, without regard to the established laws; after an exposition of the policy of such a measure from the orators of the council of state, one of whom spoke with rapture on the interesting subject, extolling the wonderful sacrifice, made by the emperor, of his most sacred affection to the benefit of his subjects, and applauding Josephine's magnanimous immolation of her love for the best of husbands, to a sense of profound regard for the best of princes, and of strong attachment to the best of nations.

A defiance of the laws of civilized society did not excite surprise, in the conduct of Napoleon; but the assent of the Austrian emperor to so degrading an alliance (for he could not view it in any other light) astonished the other princes of Europe. He signed the ignominious contract for the marriage of Maria Louisa to the base enemy of her family: his brother Charles meanly condescended to represent the bridegroom in the preliminary ceremony; and the arch-duchess, exulting in the splendid prospect of an imperial crown, was eager to meet the military despot of the continent, whom she hoped to enslave by her charms. The nuptials were solemnized at Paris with great splendour; and the new empress became an object of popular attraction.

This marriage, which was an act of artful policy, was followed by an arbitrary exercise of power in Holland. Napoleon had repeatedly expressed his displeasure at the inclination of his brother Louis to favour the commerce of the Dutch, in opposition to the continental system; and, to secure a strict obedience to his edicts, he now resolved to annex the seven provinces to his empire, having previously intimated to his Britannic majesty, without effect, that, if he would conclude peace, or revoke the orders in council, Holland should be permitted to retain her independence. He began with the seizure of the territories on the left bank of the Waal; and, by the progress of military intimidation, rendered the king a mere cypher in his capital. Louis then resigned the throne July 1. to his son; but the transfer was ridiculed by the tyrant, who gave peremptory orders for the projected incorporation.<sup>5</sup>

In adjusting this connexion, he allowed six senators, six members of the council of state, and twenty-five legislators, to represent the Dutch community, and support the interest of his new subjects; and, sending a lieutenant-general or governor to reside at Amsterdam until the affairs of the country were regularly settled, he complimented that city with the next rank to Paris and Rome.

The trade of Holland was now as much restricted as that of France; and both countries suffered severely from the loss of the American intercourse. In tracing the disputes with the United States, it may be observed, that, at the opening of a

<sup>5</sup> His brother Lucien, disapproving his system of government, and not wishing to remain exposed to his illiberal animosity, left France, and was conveyed from Malta to England near the close of the year. He received protection, and was merely subjected to a *surveillance* which was not very rigid. He maintained himself in affluence, and supported a numerous household by his own resources.



former session,<sup>6</sup> the president intimated the continuance of the "unrighteous edicts" of Great Britain and France; and stated the consequent necessity of maintaining the embargo, which, while it saved the mariners and secured vast mercantile property, had afforded time for defensive arrangements. But this state of affairs excited such clamours among all who were concerned in commerce, that the government made every exertion not incompatible with the preservation of peace, to procure a repeal or modification of the obnoxious decrees. General Armstrong, the envoy at Napoleon's court, proposed that all ships, on their departure from France, should take, in various articles of the produce or manufacture of that country, the full amount of the cargo conveyed thither: adding, that, if these vessels should voluntarily proceed to Britain, it would only be with a view of finding the best market for the merchandise of France; and that, if they should not go spontaneously to that island, but should be captured and sent into its harbours, a war for the repression of such piracy would become justifiable. These proposals, though evidently more favourable to the French than to their rivals, were not accepted or approved, because they involved an encouragement of British commerce.

On a re-consideration of the embargo, it was deemed expedient by the congress that it should be limited, and that a commercial intercourse should be renewed with all European nations except Great Britain and France.<sup>7</sup> This was called the non-intercourse law; and it was enacted under the presidency of Mr. James Madison, who, while he professed a strict impartiality between the belligerent powers, strongly leaned to the French interest. Mr. David Erskine, the British envoy, not aware of this bias, listened to the conciliatory suggestions of the president's confidential ministers, and readily promised, on the part of his majesty, a revocation of the orders in council, so far as they affected the United States, if the intercourse with this country should be renewed. A correspondent proclamation was immediately issued at the city of Washington; but the declaration that produced it was disavowed by the British court. The vessels which had sailed under the influence of this misunderstanding, were suffered to proceed and return without loss or injury, while the orders were yet unre-

<sup>6</sup> November 8, 1808.

<sup>7</sup> March 1, 1809.—Notwithstanding this prohibition, some vessels occasionally arrived in our ports, bringing supplies of cotton and other useful articles.

voked : but this indulgence did not allay the clamours of the Americans against that conduct which they stigmatised as faithless and treacherous. Mr. Madison, having discovered his error, re-proclaimed the prohibitory law ; and, when Mr. Jackson, who was deputed on the recal of Erskine, was found to be unprovided with the means of conciliation, and unauthorised to substitute a new scheme for the abortive arrangement, being merely ordered to receive the proposals of the president, he was treated with coolness and disrespect, the more particularly because he had been instrumental in the ill treatment of the Danes. He was insulted by the populace ; and, for reputed freedom of remark and animadversion, in answer to the charge of ill faith, adduced against the British government, all intercourse with him was suspended.

Repeated applications were made by the Americans to the French court, to procure a revocation of that decree which had produced the retaliative orders : but the answers were haughty and reproachful ; and some vessels which had been seized were ordered to be sold with their cargoes for the public benefit. It was, however, declared by M. Champagny, that, if general Armstrong would engage for the non-submission of his countrymen to the arbitrary edicts of Great Britain against neutral trade, a regular traffic would immediately be re-opened by the French. But no compromise or accommodation then ensued. The Americans were suffered to complain, and the outrages were still continued. It was alleged by the French minister, that the instances of capture were justified by the previous seizure of ships, under the operation of that law of the congress which prohibited commercial intercourse : but the envoy denied that any vessels had been seized for an infraction of that law.

The continuance of these disputes threatened either France or Great Britain with a new war. To rush into hostilities with Napoleon, seemed to be less hazardous than to attack the English, because he had not the means of inflicting great injury upon the Americans : yet Mr. Madison was much more disposed to resent the supposed injustice of the British government, than to enter into a war with the potent emperor.

## LETTER XVI.

*Progress of the War, in various Scenes of Action.*

IT was repeatedly declared by the orators of opposition, that Spain and Portugal could not be effectually defended; that the natives were not zealous in their own cause; and that it was a waste of blood and treasure to assist them; but the ministers were not so far influenced by these admonitions (which, perhaps were not the real opinions of all the speakers,) as to neglect the great task which they had deliberately undertaken.

A. D. 1810. Pecuniary aid was still sent to Portugal; and it was resolved, that a native army should be maintained and disciplined, to the amount of 30,000 men, beside the incidental services of the militia. Marshal Beresford continued to direct the organization of the patriotic force, and to point out the paths which might lead to safety; and lord Wellington, while he remained within the Spanish frontier, did not neglect the interest of Portugal. He apprehended that the next invasive attempt upon that kingdom would be preceded by the siege of Ciudad-Rodrigo; but Junot thought proper to begin with Astorga. After a vigorous opposition from Santocildes the governor, the batteries were opened in form; and some parts of the town were bombarded into flames. An assault was risked through a partial breach, with a great loss on the part of the enemy: but a failure of ammunition constrained the garrison to capitulate. The French general then joined marshal Ney, whose authority was soon superseded by the arrival of Massena, called the prince of Essling by his patron. This commander advanced from the Tormes with about 70,000 men; and, while a part of his army invested Ciudad-Rodrigo, the rest checked the approach and interference of lord Wellington. The siege was not completely formed before some partial conflicts had evinced the alacrity and courage of the Spaniards; and, when the besiegers were fully employed in their murderous operations, the well-served artillery of the town acted with considerable effect. On the eighth day, the incessant fire of the batteries made a wide breach; but, as this was not sufficient encouragement to rush forward to the walls, in the face of a resolute garrison, the French had re-

course to mines, by which the fortifications were greatly injured. To avoid the havoc of an assault, which might be attended with the slaughter of the inhabitants, the governor Hervasti and the junta proposed a capitulation, which, not being signed by Messena, was not strictly observed. It is supposed, that above 6000 of the besiegers were killed or wounded, while the loss sustained by the garrison was comparatively inconsiderable. The French endeavoured to disunite and alienate the Spaniards from their British allies, by imputing pusillanimity and breach of faith to the latter, who, they said, witnessed the fall of a town which they had promised to relieve, with as little sympathy as if they had been enemies.

Messena now prepared for the invasion of Portugal, without seeming to entertain the smallest doubt of triumphant success. His first object, after he had passed the frontier, was the reduction of Almeida. Brigadier Crauford, who was posted in front of that town with 4300 men, sustained for many hours an attack from a force so superior, that the escape of his detachment from total ruin seemed truly surprising; yet his loss was not considerable, and his retreat was far more honourable than disgraceful. The number and spirit of the garrison seemed to promise a long resistance; but the hopes of lord Wellington were frustrated by a calamitous accident. On the night after the opening of the batteries, a bomb fell upon a cart, in which some men were taking ammunition from a magazine in the castle. An explosion ensued, by which a considerable number of the garrison and inhabitants were instantly deprived of life; and a loss of ammunition, rather than the destruction or derangement of the works, precluded a prolongation of defence. A capitulation was therefore proposed; and it was agreed, that the garrison should be considered as prisoners of war. Some of the captured officers were seduced from the paths of patriotic duty by the persuasions of Massena; and above 1000 of the militia were compelled to serve as pioneers to the French army.

In the mean time, the rulers of Portugal took every opportunity of animating the people to a resolute continuance of the contest; but they did not, like the governors of Spain, hold out, as a reward of exertion, the prospect of a reform in the administration, or of a dereliction of the system of despotism. They even committed some arbitrary acts which excited the disgust of their allies. On pretence of a conspiracy against the government, they ordered the seizure and imprisonment

of forty-eight persons, some of whom were banished to the western islands, while others were released on condition of their retreat to Great Britain. Private animosity and resentment, and perhaps the baseness of rapacity, rather than a regard for the public interest, dictated these unjustifiable proceedings.

Notwithstanding the great augmentation of the Portuguese army, Massena hoped to gain possession of Lisbon, by a defeat of the British troops, whose rivalry he chiefly feared: but he resolved to make a previous attempt upon Coimbra. Lord Wellington deliberately retreated in that direction; and, during his march, the peasants quitted their habitations, and coolly ravaged the country, that the progress of the invaders might be checked by an aspect of desolation. At the mountainous post of Busaco, he awaited the approach of the enemy, who attacked both his right and left with great impetuosity. A strong body reached the summit; but the vigor of the bayonet chastised the rashness of the intruders; another party met with a serious check in its ascent; and, by the aid of the Portuguese, if the honor of a complete victory was not secured, the assailants were repelled with disgrace. Above 1200 of the allies were killed or wounded; while the number of French sufferers nearly amounted to 5000.

This success not only elevated the hopes of the Portuguese, but impressed their associates with a more favourable opinion of the eventual benefit which might be derived from native valour and energy; yet it did not preclude that retreat upon which the British general had determined before the battle. He marched to Coimbra, whence a great number of the inhabitants retired with their portable property on his departure; and, continuing his course to the southward, he reached a spot which he had marked out for a permanent station; while the enterprising colonel Trant, whom he had directed to harass the enemy by desultory attacks, surprised the new garrison of the academical city, captured 5000 men and secured a variety of stores, the loss of which greatly distressed the French.

The lines of the confederates extended from the vicinity of the Tagus to the shores of the Atlantic. Lord Wellington took his station near Encharadas: he was supported on the right by Hill, whose division occupied Alhandra, and on the left by Picton, who was posted at Torres-Vedras; while a legion of Portuguese, raised by sir Robert



Wilson, co-operated with the advanced guard. The natural strength of the country was so effectually aided by redoubts and other works of defence, that instead of dreading the hostilities of a superior force, he wished for a general assault.

In the opinion of an intelligent officer, the lines by which the general thus covered Lisbon formed the finest specimen of a fortified position that was ever exhibited. Mountains were made the prominent points; all the approaches were guarded by batteries; inundations were formed to increase the difficulty of access; old roads were destroyed, and others made, so as to quicken very considerably the means of communication; and these roads were secured by works which could not be reduced without artillery. The peninsular situation of the whole post precluded the possibility of manœuvring on the flanks, cutting off the supplies, or getting in the rear; and the ramifications of a mountain, nearly reaching the works in the front, obstructed the movements of the enemy, and gave, to the defenders, an advantage which rendered them equal to twice the number of assailants.<sup>1</sup>

Massena, extending his army from Sobral to the river, remained a month in observation; and then, after losing many thousands of his men by disease and desertion, he retired in good order to Santarem, for the greater convenience of subsistence. He received, in the winter, a considerable reinforcement, brought from Spain by Drouet, whom he ordered to occupy Leiria: yet he resolved to continue, like his circumspect rival, on the defensive. His rear was annoyed by the resentment of the armed natives, and his convoys were sometimes intercepted: but he deemed a retreat disgraceful, before it was required by imperious necessity. His arbitrary master was displeased at that inactivity which retarded the subjugation of Portugal; and even his troops murmured at his inglorious caution and forbearance.

In opening the Spanish campaign, the French confidently expected speedy and complete success. The natives (they said) were unable to cope with them in the field; and the remaining fortresses could not long resist the increased vigour of assault. But the invaders were not aware of the serious obstacles which opposed their triumph. They did not reflect on the desultory war of skirmish and ambuscade, of stratagem and surprisal, by which the Spaniards, without risking a gen-

<sup>1</sup> Journals of the Sieges undertaken by the Allies in Spain, in 1811 and 1812; by Lieutenant-Colonel Jones.

ral engagement, might thin the number, intercept the supplies, and exhaust the patience, of their disciplined enemies.<sup>2</sup> *Guerilla* parties, headed by men of great strength and the most determined spirit, by Sanchez, Mina, Martin,<sup>3</sup> and Longa, harassed the foe, in different provinces, with all the alacrity of zeal and all the animosity of vengeance.

The conquest of Andalusia was the first object of the French in this campaign. They forced the mountainous passes with little difficulty, captured the unresisting Spaniards, and seized the undefended towns. Amidst the alarm which their approach produced at Seville, the popular indignation was roused against the supreme junta; and, when the members were preparing for a retreat to Cadiz, the multitude loudly called for the extinction of their power. Having a high opinion of the character of don Francisco de Saavedra, the people desired him to assume the government, in concert with Montijo and a brother of the gallant Palafox; and Romana was requested to undertake the defence of the city; but he declined the task, because he could not trust to the continuance of Andalusian spirit, and hastened to provide for the security of Badajoz. On the appearance of the enemy before Seville, all thoughts of resistance were abandoned; and the gates were opened to Joseph, whose favour was readily promised to the anxious inhabitants.

In the province of Granada, Sebastiani met with a brave but short resistance. He defeated general Areizaga in his way to the chief town, of which he obtained immediate possession; took Alhama by storm; routed an army of citizens and peasants, who had been persuaded by the clergy to take arms; and captured the port of Malaga.

The praise of securing Cadiz was chiefly due to the duke del Albuquerque. He had about 10,000 men under his command; and, instead of obeying the injudicious mandates of the junta, by which his force would have been involved in the danger of ruin, he directed his rapid but orderly course to the isle of Leon. If the French had been apprised of the feeble state of this island, and had pursued with greater celerity, they would probably have made themselves masters of it: but they lost the opportunity; and, by the labours of the patriots of all

<sup>2</sup> De Rocca admits the wasting efficacy of this species of warfare, and describes with vivacity its influence upon the French armies.

<sup>3</sup> Called the *Empecinado*, because he smeared himself with *pitch* (*pez*,) when he bound himself by a vow to pursue with implacable resentment the barbarian ravagers of his country.

ranks, and the enlistment of almost all who were capable of bearing arms, the isle and the city were soon rendered so defensible, as to brave all efforts of the enemy. This station now became the seat of government. In compliance with the general wish, the obnoxious junta now relinquished the exercise of the supreme power, transferring it to five regents, until the cortes should assemble. These statesmen were, the venerable bishop of Orense, the popular Saavedra, Castanos, the marine minister Escano, and Fernandez de Leon, whose acquaintance with colonial affairs recommended him to notice and selection; but, as the junta of Cadiz objected to the nomination of the last, another regent was chosen in the person of Miguel de Lardizabal.

When the French found that a requisition of surrender was treated with contempt, they commenced what they termed a siege, and, from the works which they constructed, began to fire at the town, and at the vessels in the harbour. Albuquerque was appointed governor by the desire of the people: but, being thwarted and ill-treated by the rulers of the town, who domineered over the regents, and who were more studious of private interest than the public good, he resigned his authority in disgust.

That prince, in whose name the patriots continued to act, was more intent upon gaining the favour of the oppressor of his family, than observant of the affairs of Spain, which he could only learn from the polluted and prostitute press of France. He was favoured, about this time, with a chance of escaping from confinement. An Irishman named Kelly, having offered to undertake his rescue, was furnished by the British court with credentials and money, and escorted by commodore Cockburn to the bay of Quiberon. He landed without exciting suspicion, and, after a visit to Paris, proceeded to Valencay; but he was not admitted to an interview with the captive king, being only introduced to don Antonio, whose report of the arrival of a foreign adventurer occasioned his arrest. This is the French account; but it appears, upon the authority of the naval officer who was employed on this occasion, that the emissary influenced by love, directed his course to Paris, where he was discovered by the agents of the *police*, robbed of his money and diamonds, and thrown into prison; and that Bonaparte, wishing to ascertain the sentiments and inclinations of Ferdinand, sent a person, in the dress and with the passports of the emissary, to propose to the detained prince the means of escape; but that the dread of danger induced him

to decline the attempt.<sup>4</sup> If he had been then enabled to return to Spain, his presence might have allayed the spirit of dissention, and the energies of his people might have been more completely roused, unless it should be supposed that his weakness of understanding and want of talents would have injured the cause of national independence.

The campaign of Catalonia was not destitute of memorable incidents. O'Donnel, who was promoted to the chief command in that province, distinguished himself by his activity and alertness; and, if he did not obtain the full triumph which he deserved, he harrassed the enemy with considerable effect. In a conflict near Vich, he was obliged to yield to the superiority of number and of discipline; but, in acts of desultory warfare, he and his associates slew a great number of their opponents, and captured a major proportion. He had not a sufficient force to relieve Hostalrich, a small fortress, which Julian de Estrada defended with remarkable courage and obstinacy. After sustaining a siege during four months, the garrison abandoned the castle when it was reduced to a mere shell; and the retreat, being well conducted, was not attended with severe loss. There was a strong contrast between this defence and that of Lerida, which was taken within fifteen days from the regular commencement of the siege. Mequinenza was also reduced with little difficulty; and the spoils of both were ample and important. Movements and demonstrations, preparatory to the siege of Tortosa, were frequently made, suspended and renewed. O'Donnel and his vigilant troops hovered on the skirts of the enemy, and obstructed the preliminary operations: but Suchet was at length encouraged, by the arrival of reinforcements, to commence the siege in form; and, on the thirteenth day, the appearance of three breaches intimidated the garrison into a surrender.

In the Valencian province, the patriots were active and resolute, although their measures were occasionally obstructed by the intrigues of traitorous malcontents. The governor, don Ventura Caro, rushed out of the capital, when it was menaced with investment, and repelled the invaders, who suffered considerable loss. He then subjected to exemplary punishment, after the adduction of satisfactory evidence of guilt, some citizens who had conspired to favour the views of the French. The resistance of the Catalonians, by giving sufficient employment to Suchet, weakened the impression which

<sup>4</sup> Wariden's Letters respecting the Conduct and Conversations of Bonaparte. The emissary is called, by this writer, the "baron de Colai, a Pole."

might otherwise have been made upon the Valencian troops ; and a defeat which the latter sustained at Vinaros did not subdue the spirit with which they were animated.

Amidst the agitations and dangers of war, the scheme of a representative government was not neglected. The plan of election, formed by a committee under the inspection of the supreme junta, was more complicated than the occasion required. In the first instance, each parish named an elector : secondly, every district nominated one or more constituents ; and these were ordered to meet in the chief town of each province, and select three reputable persons, above the age of twenty-five years. The three names being consigned to an urn, one was taken out without examination or selection ; and the individual to whom it belonged was declared to be a lawful deputy. To the two remaining names another was added : then, by a renewal of drawing, a second representative was chosen ; and the process was continued until all the deputies for the province were nominated, in the proportion of one for every aggregate of 50,000 persons. To the junta of each province, the privilege of electing a member was also given ; and all the towns which had deputed members to the last cortes were to send one respectively to the new assembly. The colonies in Asia and America, were likewise to be represented. An upper house was to be composed of the prelates and grantees : but this part of the plan was neglected, probably because secular priests and nobles were allowed to be chosen as popular representatives.

All eyes were fixed upon the proceedings of this assembly, which at length commenced its deliberations in the isle of Leon. The regents now intimated their readiness to relinquish their power : but they were desired to retain it Sept. 24. until a more regular selection should be made, and were ordered to take an oath of obedience to the laws and decrees which might emanate from the grand council. The bishop of Orense was so bigoted a royalist, that he declined an oath which included an express recognition of the national sovereignty, without considering that the same oath involved the support of monarchical government, in the person of Ferdinand ; and that the supreme power could only be exercised by the nation or its deputies in the failure of all communication with the king. He probably concluded, that the oath implied an acknowledgement of a power superior to that of the monarch ; and, as his conscience could not admit this demo-



cratic position, he withdrew himself from the administrative council.

The early discussions of the cortes related to the propriety of constitutional reform. To restore the purity of the judicial character, was a primary object; and another proposal tended to prevent that long detension without trial, which is a frequent act of oppression in arbitrary governments. Resolutions were voted, by which all encroachments of the executive power on the legislative and judicial branches were declared illegal. The liberty of the press, without which no real freedom can subsist, also attracted the attention of the deputies; and it was decreed, not that libels, or licentious and immoral publications, should be deemed innocent in law, but that no previous censorship should be exercised, except when religion was the subject of the work.

As the advice of the British cabinet had thus been followed, assistance was more cordially afforded to the patriotic cause, and more confident hopes of its success were entertained by our countrymen. Pecuniary and military supplies were liberally granted; yet not with that profusion in which the marquis Wellesley, if he had been authorised to fix the amount of contribution, would have indulged.

The great expenditure, appropriated to the service of Spain and Portugal, did not preclude the grant of considerable aid to the court of Palermo. The subsidy was continued, and sir John Stuart retained the command of an army devoted to the defence of Sicily. Preparations had long been made by Murat for an invasion of that island; and, when an opportunity Sept. 18. seemed to offer itself, a descent was made between Santo-Stefano and Galati. The vigilance of the allies soon discovered this bold intrusion. Major-general Campbell instantly ordered the neighbouring passes to be occupied; and a detachment of light infantry brought the advanced party of the invaders to action. Confusion ensued among their ranks; and the spirit of resistance yielded to a desire of retreat. Many were killed or wounded, even in the boats to which they fled: above 800 surrendered; and not a few were captured by the peasants, whose animosity would have taken exemplary vengeance, if their rage had not been restrained by British interposition.

In the mean time, such enterprises and operations as were more immediately connected with the interest of Great Britain, were not neglected. As several French and Dutch islands and settlements remained to be taken, various expeditions were

ordered for the extension of our colonial empire. Sir George Beckwith sailed from Dominica with above 6000 men, who disembarked on the island of Guadaloupe without opposition. The march of the first division intimidated the French into a dereliction of posts which were seemingly defensible; and, when the rest of the army moved forward, other stations were quickly abandoned. But the enemy did not intend to resign the whole country so tamely; for a position was chosen, in which art had co-operated with nature to render intrusion difficult and dangerous. Brigadier Wale, however, with the reserve, passed a river in the midst of a severe firing, ascended the heights under a similar exposure, and, by turning that flank which was supposed to be most secure, attained the object of the expedition. A capitulation was soon after adjusted; and the insular troops became prisoners of war. Above Feb. 6. 300 of the invaders, and 600 of their adversaries, were killed or wounded.

A descent had been made, in the preceding year, on the isle of Bourbon, for the purpose of destroying or capturing the vessels in the bay of St. Paul, of seizing the valuable stores in the town, and rendering the place indefensible. That service was effected by a small party of soldiers and seamen; and as it was supposed, from the easy execution of this enterprise, that the whole island would not long resist a considerable force, a body of Europeans and Sepoys, sent from Madras, to the amount of 3650, received a reinforcement at Rodrigues, and reached the coast in safety. The commander of this force was lieutenant-colonel Keating, who, aware of the inconvenience of protracted hostilities in an island, of which "the interior was almost inaccessible to an invading army," resolved to exert the utmost activity and vigour. A part of the army found an early opportunity of landing: but the increasing violence of the surf delayed the disembarkation of the rest. During the night the anxiety of the commander was unabated, though he was enabled, by the boldness of an officer who swam through the surf, to send orders to the detachment which had reached the island, for the seizure of the post of St. Mary. In the morning, the greater part of the army gained the shore; and, when some batteries at La Possessime had been taken by assault, such arrangements were made for an attack of St. Denis, and for precluding the escape of the garrison, July 8. as produced a desire of submission. At the town of St. Paul, the troops were also disposed to surrender; and the island was immediately subjected to the government of Mr.

Farquhar. In achieving this conquest, few more than a hundred men were killed or wounded.

This success being deemed imperfect, while the isle of France (or Mauritius) was unsubdued, a great armament was destined for the additional conquest. That island had been occasionally blockaded, but necessarily, from its extent of coast, in a partial degree. Some French ships of war, being discovered in one of its harbours, were exposed to an attack from four frigates, which, by venturing among shoals and near batteries, gave cause of triumph to the enemy. The crew, after burning two of the number, retired toward the isle of Passe in the third, which was soon after captured; and the fourth, being stranded, was also obliged to surrender, after a dreadful loss of its gallant defenders. The superiority which the enemy thus obtained was only temporary, being soon crushed by the active zeal of commodore Rowley. When the blockade had been resumed by vice-admiral Bertie, an additional squadron arrived from India, with a considerable army. Major-general Abercromby, who had been selected for the command of this force, was captured by the French, two of whose ships attacked the vessel in which he sailed, and reduced it to a crippled state. He did not long remain a prisoner; for the ship was retaken by Rowley. This officer was afterward employed in the examination of the coast, which was rendered by reefs very unfavourable, in almost every part, for the disembarkation of a great number of troops, and was also supposed not to afford anchorage for a fleet of transports. He found a spot not inconvenient in either respect; and the whole army landed without opposition. In advancing toward Port Louis, the main body sustained an attack, which, though it was not repelled without loss, was not very destructive or mischievous. The effect of this engagement was decisive; for, when the general was making arrangements for an assault upon the town, the governor intimated a readiness to negotiate. He Dec. 3. proposed that the soldiers and seamen should not be considered as prisoners of war; and the grant of this request encouraged him to make unreasonable demands. He wished to reserve four frigates and two corvettes out of the French shipping in the harbour, and to return with these to France: but the answer imported that all who were allowed to retire should be conveyed in British vessels. In promising to surrender the colony, with its magazines and dependencies, he desired that all articles belonging to the emperor, should be safely kept, with a view to restitution at the close of the war.

This demand was also rejected, without occasioning a failure of the negotiation. The vessels found in the port, beside the frigates, amounted to thirty six, some of which had been taken from the English : the greater part were traders.<sup>5</sup>

These conquests, added to the result of an expedition to the coast of Madagascar, where the French had some fortified stations, left to that people no remains of colonial territory.

The Dutch also found the preservation of their foreign settlements impracticable, against the superior power and energy of Great Britain. Captain Tucker sailed with a small squadron to Amboyna, which was defended by a well-constructed fort and numerous batteries. While the ships cannonaded the fort, the troops, having effected a landing without opposition,<sup>6</sup> stormed the heights which endangered the approach of the vessels; and a battery was quickly formed, which began to play with vigour on the garrison. The commandant, being summoned to surrender on the second day of attack, consented to a capitulation; and the defenders of the island, having resigned their arms, were conveyed to Java. Saparoua, and four neighbouring isles, were soon after reduced. Various settlements in Celebes were taken in the same year. Banda was also wrested from the same enemy; and Ternate received a British garrison.

Lord Minto, who was then governor-general of British India, was the director of these schemes of hostility. He was an able administrator of the affairs both of war and peace: he united wisdom with courage and firmness; and, by the exercise of these qualities, he had principally contributed to the suppression of a dangerous mutiny, which had arisen in the presidency of Madras from the economical spirit of sir George Barlow, who had considerably reduced the camp allowances and the perquisites of officers, and thus checked that desire of wealth which is the chief attractor of adventurers to India.

In the north of Europe, the war was prosecuted with less spirit than in any other scene of action. Some unimportant conflicts with the Danes occurred at sea; and the Russians occasionally contended with the English on the same element. The Swedish court, in the autumn, declared war against Great Britain: but no effective vigor was displayed in consequence of that denunciation. An important change, arising from French influence, produced the hostile manifesto.

5 London Gazette Extraordinary of February 13, 1811; and the Supplement

6 On the 11th of February.



The conclusion of treaties with Denmark and France, had left the Swedes at full leisure to settle the succession to their throne without turbulence or disorder. As the king had no prospect of issue, he recommended to the diet the election of a future sovereign. The choice of the assembly excited the astonishment of foreign courts. Notwithstanding the inveterate animosity between Sweden and Denmark, the prince of Augustenburg, who was a Danish subject, was elected: but his estimable character justified the appointment. He was supposed to possess those virtues and talents which would incline and enable him to promote the happiness of the Swedes. He manifested a benevolent disposition, and a regard for the interests of the people: but, as he did not flatter the pride of the nobles, he was not particularly favored by that class of the community. Transient was his career of splendor. His expectations of loyalty, and the hopes of his friends were suddenly disappointed. At a military review, he was seized with an apparent fit, and quickly expired. The funeral procession was marked with tumult and outrage. Loud exclamations were uttered against count Fersen, who, being high marshal of the realm, conducted the melancholy train. Stones were thrown at him by the populace; and, when the adjutant-general, baron Silversparre, desired to know the cause of this resentment, many voices cried out, "He poisoned the crown prince!" The count having retired into a house for safety, the people were still clamorous, but were seemingly pacified by a promise which the baron gave in the king's name, for the arrest and trial of the supposed delinquent. Silversparre, entering the house, expressed an earnest wish to save the count from popular fury: but he did not, when the riot was renewed, act with that spirit or zeal which would have corresponded with his declaration. He harangued the mob, and advised forbearance; but, when some of the rioters promised not to insult or harass the count on his way to the town house, he suffered them to conduct the object of their odium through the streets; and the soldiers did not even interpose, when the unfortunate nobleman, who had reached the guard room, was dragged out, and cruelly murdered. Even after this gratification of their malice, the disturbers of the peace continued embodied, until a military attack spread confusion among them. In the conflict which then arose, five soldiers lost their lives; but many more of the rioters fell.

So deliberately was this tumult conducted, that it had the



appearance of a preconcerted scheme, rather than of a sudden emotion of popular rage. It is well known, that the French court had emissaries and spies in all parts of the continent, ready to promote its secret views. As the want of an acknowledged successor to the Swedish throne excited the speculations of ambition, an opportunity of bringing forward an adventurer, without open interference, was offered to Napoleon; and Bernadotte, whose great wealth, acquired in a long career of war, furnished him with the means of corruption, directed his view to a crown to which he had no pretensions. These circumstances may furnish a clue to unravel the mystery. It was politic to transfer the imputation of murder from a French agent to count Fersen; and it might also be deemed expedient to remove from the world a distinguished nobleman, who was known to be so attached to Gustavus, as to wish either for his restoration or the advancement of his son to the throne.<sup>7</sup>

Among the candidates who solicited the vacant honor, the king of Denmark<sup>8</sup> proposed himself: and Napoleon pretended to wish for the election of this prince, while he concluded that the states would not fix upon him, because, although he might promise to keep his court at Stockholm, he would naturally be inclined to favor his countrymen, much more than the Swedes, whom, as a Dane, he would not regard with a benevolent eye. The king meanly condescended to propose Bernadotte to the diet assembled at Orebro, panegyrising his military skill, his political talents, and his private virtues, and apparently exulting in the prospect of having so able and worthy a successor. After a short deliberation, the assembly made choice of a French general for the future sovereign Aug. 18. of Sweden, exhibiting an extraordinary instance of subserviency and debasement. In answer to the intimation of this remarkable choice, Bernadotte expressed both astonishment and gratitude, and declared that the human heart never felt a spring of action more powerful than those feelings were, which would stimulate him to devote the rest of his life to the duties of his new station, and to the happiness of an illustrious and magnanimous people. After some delay, he made

<sup>7</sup> It was a prevailing opinion, that the prince was poisoned; and the report derived some strength from investigation; but it could not be irrefragably proved. The innocence of count Fersen, however, no reasonable person disputed.

<sup>8</sup> Not the prince who had for many years been incapable of government, but his son Frederic.

his appearance in Sweden; complimented the king and the four orders of the state with politeness and dignity; and, readily acceding to an indispensable condition of his appointment, embraced the Lutheran religion.

The elevation of Bernadotte alarmed the emperor Alexander, who, apprehending that the crown prince might be encouraged by Bonaparte to demand the restitution of Finland, and also suspecting danger from the proximity of a French army to his dominions, began to make preparations for his defence. He was still engaged in an unjust war with the Turks, who proved, in repeated instances, that they had some remains of courage, if not of energy and vigor. They had defeated his troops, in the last campaign, near Silistria: but they could not prevent the subsequent reduction of that city. Rudshuck, Shumla, and Varna, were long defended; and sanguinary conflicts, in which both parties claimed the victory, occurred in the neighbourhood of each of those towns. The Russians gave great alarm to the grand signor by advancing to a station between Varna and Adrianople: but they were repelled with considerable loss. This prince, faithful to his engagements with our court, permitted a squadron to sail into the Euxine Sea, with a view of blockading Odessa and other Russian ports; but he was still jealous of the exercise of British influence and power in the Ionian islands, and witnessed with disgust the addition of Santa Maura to preceding conquests.

The incidents of the year, though not uniformly favourable to France, afforded a result which gratified the pride and ambition of Napoleon. An acute politician, acquainted with his leading sentiments, could in a great measure foresee the light in which the affairs of Europe would be exhibited by his ministers: yet their periodical review of politics and war never failed to excite general attention. M. de Champagny, in the flattering report which he presented to his master, concisely mentioned the object and result of the five coalitions which Europe had witnessed since the French revolution. All these confederacies he said had been promoted by Great Britain for the ruin of France; but each had conducted, in its progress and event, to the benefit and glory of the great nation. No English minister, except Mr. Fox, had fully comprehended the relative situation and circumstances of the two countries. That great statesman was aware, that France would profit by a continuance of the war; and he therefore deemed peace advantageous to Great Britain, which would gain much, if none of the continental states should lose more. He wished, by

pacifying France, to prevent a power, which could not be compelled to retrace its steps, from prosecuting the career of success which might be injurious to the security of Britain. If his life had been prolonged, peace would probably have been restored: but that spirit of contention which the influence of his court had propagated through Europe, drove Prussia into arms; and the effect was such as might have been expected. In the progress of hostility, Britain had endeavoured to subvert the established laws of commerce, by invading the privileges of all neutral nations: but the monstrous novelties which had been thus wantonly introduced, were properly repelled by the decrees of Berlin and Milan; and the annexion of Holland to the French empire would preclude that intercourse in which a feeble government would otherwise have acquiesced. No proceedings could so effectually reclaim the professed votaries of commerce to a system of moderation, as the confiscation of their merchandise, and their exclusion from the ports of the continent.

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## LETTER XVII.

### *Survey of Politics and War, during the Year 1811.*

WHEN ambition is the ruling passion of the soul, it increases like avarice, by continued gratification. The patient in this case (for it may be compared with a disorder) betrays strong symptoms of irritability and inflammation. The height of power and extent of command, the fascinations of splendour, and the exorbitancy of influence, serve only to provoke appetite, and to stimulate the phrenzy of desire. Napoleon, thus infatuated, blindly pursued his course, despising caution, and deriding danger.

Great Britain still defied that power which was exercised by a daring ruffian; and the king did not relinquish the enlivening hope, that the example of resistance A. D. 1810. might yet be signally efficacious. But this prince now began

to feel a recurrence of that malady which deprived him of the influence of political hope, and incapacitated him for the functions of royalty. His feelings were extremely affected by the alarming illness of his daughter Amelia, particularly by the presentation of a ring, as the last pledge of filial affection: his fortitude yielded to the shock: he was for some time  
 Oct. 25. dejected, and at length manifested that mental derangement by which he had been formerly harrassed. While he was in this state, the princess died. She had endeared herself to her family by her pleasing manners and interesting character; and her untimely fate was the subject of sincere and general regret.

As the ministers were prompted by their wishes to believe, that the king's incapacity would not be permanent, they proposed an adjournment for a fortnight, when the two  
 Nov. 1. houses met on the day to which his majesty had prorogued them. On the expiration of that interval, instead of recommending those arrangements which the emergency required, they advised another adjournment, in the delusive expectation of the king's recovery. A further delay arose from the same source; and seven weeks were suffered to elapse before the house of commons voted, that it was their  
 Dec. 20. right and duty, in concert with the peers, to provide the means of supplying the deficiency of the executive power. When the lords were requested to concur in this resolution, and also in a vote for adjusting the means of giving the royal assent to a bill of temporary regulation, the duke of Sussex reprehended the ministers for their audacious and protracted usurpation of the functions of sovereignty, and the duke of York condemned the intention of applying the great seal to a bill without the king's sanction and authority: but the house agreed to the propositions of the commons. In imitation of Mr. Pitt's plan of regency, Mr. Perceval suggested the propriety of restriction, while he expressed his conviction of the expediency of admitting the prince of Wales to the temporary exercise of the royal authority. The restrictive scheme was so strenuously opposed, as unconstitutional and impolitic, that the premier could only procure a plurality of twenty-four votes in favour of the general principle; and it was contested in detail with equal zeal. With so small a majority, a minister of rigid integrity would have receded from his purpose, as he might have concluded that the superiority would have been much greater, if the proposal had been obviously reasonable, or if its equity or policy had been capable of easy demonstra-

tion. But, if Mr. Perceval had only obtained one vote beyond the number which the opposite party exhibited, his conscience would have been satisfied. In the progress of the scheme, he and his colleagues found themselves in a minority, when they wished to grant political power to the queen, by allowing her to appoint or remove all the officers of the household : but her majesty was permitted to retain the care of the royal person, and to receive the assistance of a council. In several divisions among the peers, the prince's cause was supported by a small majority ; but his adversaries gained the chief points at which they aimed. They did not then think that he would retain the king's advisers in the cabinet, and therefore resolved to diminish the power and patronage of their expected successors.

When a series of resolutions had been adopted, they were communicated in form to the prince, who, while he disapproved the unnecessary and invidious restrictions,<sup>1</sup> declared his readiness to undertake the proposed trust. The session was then re-opened, in consequence of a joint vote, permitting the use of the great seal without the accustomed and regular authority. A bill of regency was now brought forward, Feb. 5. and completed after a renewal of strong opposition. From a sense of delicacy toward his royal father, the prince regent (as the heir apparent was now styled) resolved not to make any change in the administration, during the year to which his authority was limited.

With the exception of the regential arrangements, this session was not particularly distinguished by its debates or enactments ; and those points which chiefly require notice are the affairs of the catholics and the protestant dissenters, the commercial distresses of the nation, and the attempt to render the code of criminal law less sanguinary.

The Romanists of Ireland, influenced by ambitious leaders, resolved to form a convention at Dublin by the choice of ten delegates for every county, with a view of promoting the accomplishment of their grand object of complete relief. Aware of this intention, the lord-lieutenant, in a circular letter, ordered the sheriffs and magistrates to obstruct and prevent such elec-

<sup>1</sup> They were similar to those which Mr. Pitt persuaded the two houses to impose in the year 1789. It was required, that the prince should not advance any one to the dignity of the peerage, grant any office in reversion, or for a longer term than during his majesty's pleasure or interfere with the queen's nomination for the supply of inferior vacancies in the royal household.



tions. The earl of Moira submitted this point to the consideration of the peers, and condemned the interference of the court as invidious and unseasonable, at a time when the critical state of affairs would suggest to a wise government the expediency of conciliating every class and description of his majesty's subjects : but the ministry vindicated and approved the viceroy's conduct. Petitions, prepared by the catholic committee, were presented to both houses, and strongly recommended by the eloquence of the earl of Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan; but were rejected by a majority of 59 in one assembly, and of 63 in the other. A convention being holden after this disappointment, a proclamation was issued against such illegal assemblies; and Dr. Sheridan was tried for a violation of the statute. The judges were disposed to declare him guilty; but the jury gave a contrary verdict. When the earl of Fingal had taken the chair in a subsequent meeting, he was displaced by a magistrate, who did not, however, dare to apprehend him.

As the number of protestant sectaries, more particularly the Methodists, annually increased, the orthodox were alarmed at this progressive encroachment upon the established church; <sup>2</sup> and lord Sidmouth introduced a bill which, he hoped, would check the multiplication of heterodox preachers. He affirmed, that the act of toleration was misunderstood, and that the prevailing practice of admitting, to the right of preaching, the most ignorant and contemptible individuals, many of whom could merely write their own names, and could with difficulty read their native language, not only militated against the true sense of the statute, but tended to the discredit of religion itself. He therefore proposed, that no person should be authorised to officiate in any place of worship unless he should be recommended by six reputable householders of the congregation with which he had enrolled himself as an attendant, and should also prove that he was permitted to be the pastor of a particular flock. Numerous petitions were presented from all parts of the kingdom against this encroachment on the freedom of ministerial choice; and the vehemence of sectarian clamour induced the peers to explode the offered bill. The obvious effect of the measure would have been the augmented respectability of the non-conformist preachers: but those who complained of the intended restriction had not sufficient candor

<sup>2</sup> That they had a strong ground of alarm, appears from the great excess of meeting-houses beyond the number of churches and chapels. According to a report presented to the peers, the former were 3457, and the latter only 2547, without reckoning those parishes in which the inhabitants did not amount to 1000.

to consider that object as the chief motive which actuated the defender of the establishment.

Commercial embarrassments being made a subject of parliamentary inquiry, it was stated by a committee, that the warehouses had a superabundance of merchandise, for which no market could be found; that the traders were thus prevented from paying the manufacturers, and precluded from giving them farther employment; and that misery and ruin were, in multiplied instances, the consequences of this stagnation of trade. To support declining credit, the house of commons voted a loan of six millions, to be distributed among those merchants who could give security for repayment: but this was a very imperfect remedy for the evil.

The subject of the criminal law was ably discussed by sir Samuel Romilly, who argued, that the denunciation of death for such crimes as were comparatively trivial not only evinced a great want of humanity, but frequently defeated the object of the legislature, by exciting those feelings which prevented prosecution and conviction; and that the certainty of some inferior punishment would therefore more effectually operate in deterring persons from the commission of crimes. Lord Holland maintained the same opinion; but lord Ellenborough opposed the idea with the stern inflexibility of a judge. Five bills being introduced for reducing certain acts of robbery within the limits of simple felony, three were rejected by the peers, and two were honoured with enactment.<sup>3</sup>

While the prince regent trod in his father's steps, retained the ministers who had served the king, and prosecuted the same system of policy, the sovereign of France continued that arbitrary and tyrannical course in which he supposed that all the joys and delights of power were concentrated. He did not relax the rigours of his internal government; and, to his former compulsive acts, he added the terrors of a marine conscription. He ordained new annexions of territory, particularly in the north-western part of Germany; and he impudently pronounced these additions to be necessary, because they were expedient.

The exposition of the state of the French empire contained, as usual, a mixture of truth and falsehood. Montalivet, who presented it to the legislative body, began with a pompous boast of Napoleon's late arrangements, by which sixteen de-

3. These two acts related to the stealing of linen or cotton goods from bleaching grounds and other places used for printing or drying them.

partments, including 300 leagues of coast, had been incorporated with his dominions. The means of maritime power thus procured, said the reporter, were truly valuable ; and the French had now the full command of the produce of Germany and Italy, requisite for naval construction. By the mention of the union of Rome, he was led to remark on the prevailing religion. The pope, he said, had for some years refused to institute the new bishops : but his neglect of duty did not diminish the attachment of the clergy to that faith and worship which he and his predecessors taught. After adverting to some recent alterations in the mode of administering justice, by which the evasion of punishment was rendered more difficult, he proceeded to the details of civil economy, affirming that the *communes* were rich beyond all former example ; that their establishments were in the best state ; that the hospitals were judiciously managed, and had become more particularly beneficial, in consequence of the attendance of so many *charitable sisters*, whose congregations had been patronized and multiplied by the emperor's compassionate zeal ; and that considerable progress had been made in the suppression of mendicity, by the formation of depots in which the poor were variously employed. On the subject of education, he intimated the expediency of following an uniform plan, instead of suffering so important an object to be regulated by individual caprice. Private seminaries, therefore, were to be gradually suppressed ; and the public schools were to be regulated on the principles of military discipline. All arts and sciences, he added, were in a train of improvement. The public works were prosecuted on so grand a scale, that the expenditure of a single year surpassed that which the old government had devoted to the same purposes in a whole generation. In point of naval strength the French could not at present rival the English : but the increase of their maritime resources would soon be felt by the enemy ; and the war by land would be carried on with that determined spirit, and that vast superiority in number, which, if Great Britain should obstinately persist in the struggle, would at length ruin that haughty power. The continental system, if it should be pursued for ten years, would destroy her financial fabric, and annihilate her means of hostility. It was consequently much more her interest, than it was that of France, to bring the war to a speedy termination ; but her passions blinded her reason, and overwhelmed all sense of moderation and humanity.

Great Britain, on the contrary, vindicated that conduct which the enemy censured, by alleging the necessity of stemming the torrent of ambition and despotism, which had diffused misery over the continent, and by representing her interposition as the result of no other views than a desire of restoring the influence of justice and humanity, and rescuing oppressed nations from the most galling tyranny.

While the preparations of a new campaign were in progress, Spain lost two of her champions. The duke del Albuquerque, insulted and reviled by the junta, and sent to England in diplomatic exile, died of a raging fever of the brain; and the marquis de la Romana, whose fortitude would not suffer him to despair of the salvation of his country, yielded to fate in the vigor of his age.

Portugal derived relief from the circumspection and foresight of lord Wellington. The increasing difficulty of subsistence, and the prevalence of disease, at length reduced the French to the necessity of quitting Santarem. To their commander, three schemes presented themselves. One was, to attack the English in their lines: but this he declined, being aware of the danger of such an attempt: his own excuse was, that he could not bring up his heavy artillery. Another idea which occurred to him was that of supplying his deficiencies in Alentejo, and opening a communication with the French army in Andalusia; but, as this retreat seemed more hazardous than the direction of his course to the Mondego, and to that part of the frontier which was nearest to Ciudad-Rodrigo, he made choice of the last expedient.

He sent forward the sick soldiers and the baggage, and followed in the night with his effective force. The March 5. next morning, the allies entered Santarem, and admired the strength and defensibility of the position. A sufficient body could not be collected for a regular attack, before the fugitives reached Pombal. They set fire to that town; and, being driven from the castle, continued their retreat in the night to Redinha, where they took an advantageous position, which, however, did not secure them from dislodgement and defeat. Condeixa furnished them with another strong post; but, as it was suspected that they aimed at the seizure of Coimbra, their *route* to that city was seasonably obstructed, and they were glad to hasten from their new post to the mountains beyond it. Some well directed attacks drove the divisions which composed the rear from their high stations, and threw them

in disorder upon the main body at Miranda de Corvo, after they had suffered a much greater loss than they inflicted.<sup>4</sup>

The French, in their accelerated progress, destroyed many pieces of cannon, and much of their baggage, and concealed under the earth, or rendered useless, a considerable quantity of ammunition; left their wounded to perish by neglect, unless the pursuers should find time to relieve them; and, in the fury of revenge, endeavoured to destroy almost every town and village through which they passed. The magnificent monastery of Alcobaga was burned, by the particular order of Massena; and the palace of the bishop of Leyria was consigned by general Drouet to the same fate, in return for the temporary asylum which it had afforded him. To the guilt of robbery, and the wantonness of destruction, the French added the atrocity of personal outrage, rape, and murder. In many instances, their enormities did not pass unrevenged; for their parties were occasionally cut off by the militia, or by the exasperated peasants.

Finding Miranda untenable in consequence of the judicious movements of lord Wellington, the harrassed enemy retreated amidst its smoking ruins to the Ceira, and occupied both banks of that river, near Foy de Aronce. The division posted on the left bank, being exposed to an impetuous assault, crossed the bridge in confusion; and many were driven into the stream. In proceeding to the Alva, Massena lost a multitude of men by capture, and was prevented from halting by the vigor of the pursuit: but, as the confederates were obliged to wait for supplies, his army had time for occasional rest. At Guarda, he displayed a great remaining force, without being encouraged to risque a conflict. As soon as he discerned the British columns, he hastened toward the Coa, and reached Sabugal. As he left general Regnier in that town with a strong *corps*, an attack was ordered by lord Wellington; and the result was a quickened retreat, which led the enemy within the frontiers of Spain.

Such was the disgraceful disappointment of the boastful commander, who had threatened to drive the English into the sea, and to plant on the towers of Lisbon the eagles of his imperial master. He fled before the objects of his unmerited contempt, and left Portugal to its accustomed protectors. Instead of displaying the heroic courage of an honorable warrior,

<sup>4</sup> Narrative of the Campaigns of the Loyal Lusitanian Legion, and of the Military operations in Spain and Portugal, by an Officer.



he manifested only the cruelty of a barbarian;<sup>5</sup> and the *brigands* whom he commanded were worthy of such a leader. For the relief of the impoverished people upon whom their murderous rage had not fallen, the British parliament voted a considerable sum;<sup>6</sup> and a liberal subscription was raised by opulent and generous individuals for the same benevolent purpose.

The only station which the enemy continued to occupy in Portugal, was Almeida. As this town was blockaded by the allies, Massena, assisted by Marmont and Bessieres, made dispositions for an attack. He ordered the village of Fuentes de Honor to be assaulted by a considerable body of sharpshooters, who were obstinately opposed by the light infantry. A part of the position was seized; but the intruders were dislodged by the advance of fresh regiments. On the following day, the attempt was renewed with fruitless alacrity. All the cavalry, and a great mass of infantry, afterward attacked the British right, and compelled the squadrons to retreat, yet not in such disorder as to prevent spirited renewals of action. At the same time, a tremendous fire was opened upon the first line of infantry; and the possession of the village was disputed with redoubled obstinacy. It was taken, but was recovered before the close of the day; and the disappointed enemy then desisted from action. In these conflicts, about 1500 of the allies, and 3000 of the French, were killed or wounded. Almeida being now left without succour, the garrison retreated in the night; but, in forcing a passage considerable loss was sustained. The fugitives previously destroyed their stores and a great part of the fortifications, leaving the town uninjured. By this retreat, the kingdom was completely delivered from its cruel invaders.

The intelligence of this rescue gave great joy to the prince of Brasil, who expressed, to the British ambassador, his high sense of the liberal support which he had received. This prince, in the preceeding year, had gratified his defenders with a new treaty of friendship and alliance. He promised to indemnify those British subjects who had suffered by the harsh measures which he had been obliged by the French to adopt; granted to this nation the exclusive right of selling timber in Brazil, and of building ships in the colonial ports; declared

<sup>5</sup> Lieutenant-colonel Jones states, as an eye-witness, that the "cruelties and destruction which marked every step of his retreat, rank him as one of the greatest monsters that ever disgraced the human form."

<sup>7</sup> Precisely 100,000 pounds.

that the inquisition should be abolished in that country ; and engaged to take measures for the gradual abolition of the slave trade, but without binding himself to any restriction of traffic in the African dependencies of Portugal.

The liberation of Spain was a much more difficult task than that of Portugal : but the hopes of success were far from being extinguished. Before Massena's retreat, Soult, wishing to open a communication with him, had detached Mortier to invest Badajoz. When the approaches had been carried on for a fortnight, a strong out-work was stormed : and after a continuance of regular operations, the conductor of the siege sent 6000 men over the Gaudianna, above the town, by a flying bridge, to attack Mendizabal, who, with about 9000 Spaniards and a body of Portuguese cavalry, had stationed himself near the Gevora. That commander, imprudently retiring beyond the protection of fort Christoval, was easily defeated with great loss ; for neither part of his force acted with spirit, for want of the advantage of position. In the sixth week of the siege, when only a narrow breach had been made, which ought not to have intimidated the garrison, a capitulation was proposed and accepted, although the governor had received a promise of expeditious relief.

The importance of this station occasioned a speedy attempt for its recovery. Having retaken Olivença, which Soult had reduced by blockade, sir William Beresford invested Badajoz : but, as soon as lord Wellington was informed of the march of the French from Seville, he ordered a discontinuance of the siege, and sent some regiments of infantry to assist in repelling the foe. General Blake readily joined the British and Portuguese ; and, in a conference which he and Castanos had with the field-marshal, it was resolved that the enemy's challenge should be accepted. Soult had 23,000 men under his command ; and this calculation includes his cavalry. His adversaries amounted to 26,000 ; but, as only 8000 were British, and as the whole body of allied horse scarcely exceeded 2000, the prospect of success was not perhaps very flattering, in a contest with the veteran troops of France. They were arranged in two lines, nearly parallel to the Albuera, on the May 16. ground which gradually rises from that rivulet. The first attack was directed against the right, which was composed of Spanish troops and two British regiments. So fierce and resolute was the assault, that the Spaniards gave way, and were dislodged from the height, or rather slope, with considerable loss. Their British associates pushed through their

ranks, with a heavy fire of musquetry ; and perceiving that this did not effectually check the French, had recourse to the bayonet. A body of Polish equestrian lancers, advancing to repel this charge, and being mistaken in a hazy and smoky atmosphere for Spanish cavalry, found an opportunity of proceeding to the right flank and rear of the English, who severely felt the effect of this unexpected approach. Major-general Houghton, who was detached with a brigade to the support of the right, fell pierced with wounds, while he was encouraging his men to maintain the military honour of their country. Other troops ably assisted in this part of the field, and drove the disordered enemy across the rivulet. The left, by vigorous exertion, also triumphed ; and the French retired to the spot from which they had moved in the morning. After remaining for a whole day in position, as if their commander had been undetermined how to act, they retreated to the southward, leaving 900 wounded and prisoners, beside about 2000 dead.<sup>7</sup> In the British army, the immediate deaths amounted to 882 ; the list of wounded rose to 2732. The Spanish sufferers were not fewer than 2000 ; while the Portuguese sustained only a small loss.<sup>8</sup>

The want of a sufficiency of cavalry precluding a vigorous pursuit, major-general Lumley merely followed the retiring army to watch its movements. Unwilling to submit tamely to this insult, three light regiments attacked a heavy equestrian brigade at Usagre ; but they were quickly disordered and put to flight. No immediate obstruction to the siege of Badajoz being now apprehended, it was resumed, under the eye of the commander in chief ; while a part of the allied force, directed by sir Brent Spencer, occupied the country near Ciudad Rodrigo. Marshal Marmont, who superintended the operations of the remains of Massena's force (still called the army of Portugal,) resolved to take advantage of his numerical superiority to that division which was the nearest to his station, and to co-operate with Soult in an attack upon the besiegers. He endeavoured to harass Spencer, who prudently commenced a retreat, which he conducted with such admirable order, that the enemy could not make any impression upon him, or prevent him from securing himself within the Portuguese frontier. Being assured that Soult expected great reinforcements from Castile, Lord

<sup>7</sup> According to an intercepted letter from general Gazan to Soult, above 4000 wounded were carried off ; and, as they had only five surgeons to cure or relieve them, a great number must have died from neglect, aggravated by the heat of the weather.

<sup>8</sup> London Gazette Extraordinary of June 3.

Wellington pushed the siege with additional vigour, that he might reduce the town before the marshal could advance to its relief. He ordered two assaults upon the outwork of St. Christoval; but both were attended with great loss, and were unsuccessful; and, hearing that Marmont was in motion on one side, and Soult on the other, he relinquished the siege, and retired across the Tagus, his right wing being supported by the strength of Elvas.

When marshal Soult advanced to co-operate with Massena, he drew off such a number of men from the army which blockaded Cadiz, that the Spaniards were encouraged to undertake an expedition against the troops stationed in that neighbourhood. La Pena and lieutenant-general Graham were employed in this enterprise; and the allied force amounted to 12,000 men. High expectations of success were formed by the Spanish commander, who boasted that he would soon expel the enemy from Andalusia. The army, disembarking at Algeiras, marched toward the French line, and hoped to effect an opening into the isle of Leon. With a view of facilitating this communication, troops were sent from that station over the river of Santo-Pedro; and they raised some hasty works, which were assaulted in the night without effect. La-Pena attacked the lines near this point, and, having dislodged the occupants, concerted farther operations with Graham, who had advanced from the hill of Barrosa. The subsequent movements were interrupted by the unexpected approach of Victor, who with about 8000 men, moved toward that post.

Neglecting the prosecution of La-Pena's success, the British general, although his force was greatly inferior to that which the marshal conducted, marched back, and made dispositions for an engagement. The enemy's right March 5. occupied a plain, skirted by a wood, while the left enjoyed the advantage of the hill. A battery was quickly formed by the English; and it made great havoc, before a close fight commenced. The conflict was short, but very sanguinary. It terminated to the disadvantage of the French, who were compelled to quit their positions, and subjected to a loss far greater than that which was sustained by their adversaries, of whom above 1240 were killed or wounded. Extremely fatigued by a long march, and harrassed by hunger, the prevailing troops did not attempt a pursuit, but took an early opportunity of crossing the river to the island. As no important benefit resulted from this expedition, La-Pena was severely blamed for imputed neglect; but, after a regular inquiry, he

was honorably acquitted. He applauded the skill and intrepidity of Graham, as soon as he had received intelligence of the battle : but, when he found that the general did not proceed to the execution of the plan which had been adjusted between them, he lamented the inadequate result of the boasted victory.

All the efforts of the French could not put them in complete possession of the Andalusian province. They did not relinquish the blockade of Cadiz : but it was ill-conducted and inefficient. They were harassed with desultory but severe hostilities by general Ballasteros, whose indefatigable spirit the exasperated Soult in vain endeavoured to crush. After a variety of partial conflicts, Godinot was detached against him with a considerable force ; but he could not seduce him into an engagement. Protected by the batteries of Gibraltar, the Spanish troops remained near that fortress, until their enemies were obliged, by the want of supplies, to retire from the spot. Soult's intention of fortifying Tarifa was now anticipated by the allies, who thus exposed themselves to the perils of a siege. For seventeen days, they withstood every assault, destroying a multitude of the besiegers, who, by the vigour of this defence, were intimidated into a disgraceful retreat.

While lord Wellington remained inactive in Portugal, no remarkable occurrences signalised the war in Estremadura or in Leon ; and the two Castilian provinces were in a state of little agitation. But Galicia was harassed by the French under Dorsenné : Navarre was a scene of hostility and conflict ; and Catalonia was still convulsed with the horrible effects of French injustice and iniquity. Emerging from his retreat when an opportunity of action presented itself, the British general re-entered Spain, and formed the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo. The French hastened to secure that important station, and appeared with an army which the viscount was too prudent to attack. Retreating without disorder, and with small loss, he suffered the enemy to relieve the town, and took a position near the Coa. Hostilities being renewed in Estremadura, he sent lieutenant-general Hill against Girard, whom that gallant officer surprised at Arroyo del Molino. Many fell in the battle, and more in the pursuit ; and 1300 men, with general Brune and the prince d'Aremberg, became prisoners.

The great power of the French in Navarre, being supported by the possession of all the fortresses, apparently left to the Spaniards no hope of a speedy recovery of that province. Yet Mina was not discouraged ; and the danger of ruin only served



to inflame his zeal and invigorate his prowess. Reille, who acted as governor in the name of Joseph, made every effort to crush the daring leader, who so obstinately opposed the arms of France : but Mina, in his mountainous recesses, eluded the most vigilant search. Whenever he was constrained to retreat, he prevented all discovery of his temporary asylum ; and he quickly reappeared in another quarter, storming posts, and routing detached parties. He was sometimes encumbered with prisoners ; but he did not follow the example of his opponents, who frequently murdered their captives in the wantonness of sport, or in the rage of animosity. His heart was not so far hardened by the practice of war, as to be insensible of honour and humanity.

The chief oppressor of Catalonia was Suchet, who rivalled Massena and Soult in courage and cruelty, if he did not equal them in talent and reputation. By the continued retention of Barcelona, and the acquisition of other strong towns, the French maintained a commanding superiority in the province. Their commander suffered the Spaniards to take Figueras by surprise under the direction of Rovira a doctor in theology ; but he hoped to recover it by a strict blockade. Leaving that task to Baraguay d'Hilliers, he commenced the siege of Tarragona, a maritime town of no great strength, in which a great number of provincials had sought refuge. The place was not defended with that spirit which had animated the inhabitants of Saragossa and Gerona ; nor, on the other hand, was it tamely or quickly surrendered. Fort Oliva, for some weeks, resisted all assaults ; but, in the exchange of a regiment between that outwork and the town, the French found an opportunity of entering with their adversaries, among whom they made great havoc, without putting the whole body to the sword. The marquis of Campoverde, who commanded the provincial army, concerted schemes of attack with some Valencian and British officers : but no effectual means of assisting the garrison were adopted. After another interval of three weeks, the lower town was taken by storm ; and a horrible massacre testified the brutal joy and vindictive ferocity of the assailants. The defenders of the upper town continued to act for another week : and it was then proposed and agreed, that they should attempt to force their way through the lines of the enemy. But, instead of having recourse to this hazardous expedient, of blocking up with their persons a breach which appeared in the wall, they suffered the French to rush in, and wreak indiscriminate vengeance for the great loss which they had

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sustained during the siege. Multitudes endeavoured to escape into the country; and many, particularly the women and children, fled in boats to the British vessels. Amidst this confusion, the barbarians perpetrated every species of outrage, and murdered above 6000 persons of both sexes and all ages.<sup>9</sup> Even this ill success did not reduce the Catalonians to despair; nor did the loss of Montserrat, or the re-capture of Figueras, produce that submission which the invaders, being masters of all the fortresses in the province, not unreasonably expected. Some bold spirits declared, that the war was then only at its commencement; and fierce hostilities ensued, in which the natives headed by Lacy, severely harassed the enemy. The baron de Eroles also met with success in a variety of operations; reducing the academical city of Cervera, and even levying contributions in France.

Suchet, considering Catalonia as almost entirely subdued, marched into the Valencian province, and formed the siege of Morviedro. The garrison of this place acted bravely, without emulating the memorable defence of Saguntum, a town which formerly stood upon the same spot. Having seized the town, the French attempted to gain the fort by scalade; but their rash confidence was chastised by merited loss. Another experiment of the same kind was equally unsuccessful; and the preparations for a regular siege were obstructed by the activity of the Spaniards: but, by the capture of the fort of Oropesa, Suchet was enabled to secure the arrival of his heavy artillery; and the walls were then battered until a wide breach was made. Two assaults were repelled with indignant spirit: yet it was not expected by the governor, that the fort would long be retained. General Blake, with the troops of Arragon, Valencia, and Murcia, advanced to the relief of the garrison; and Suchet, leaving a sufficient force to continue the siege, hastened to meet him. The Spanish left began to attack; but, the light troops being quickly driven from an eminence which they had seized, the columns, which ought to have supported them, were so discouraged, that they made little resistance; and a corps, intended as a reserve, retreated without fighting. The central body acted with less pusillanimity, and when repelled, made an orderly retreat. Zayas, who conduct-

<sup>9</sup> Suchet says, in his letter, that 9780 men were made prisoners: but it may be more readily believed, that not more than one half of the number were so far favoured. He acknowledges that 5000 men were killed or drowned after the entrance of his troops into the city. This terrible example, he coolly remarks, will be long remembered in Spain. Indisputably, it *will be remembered*, to his eternal infamy and disgrace.

ed the right wing, particularly distinguished himself, and long withstood the vigour of the enemy; and when his division retired by the order of Blake, the men would readily have risked a charge with the bayonet. About 1000 of the Spaniards were killed or wounded; and the prisoners were far more numerous. Dreading a renewal of assault, the garrison of Morviedro now capitulated.

Valencia, upon which the French general had long fixed a prospective eye, was the next object of attack. That city had a strong garrison, defensible lines, and an abundance of artillery and stores; but Blake, who presided over the operations, had not that elevated spirit which soars above ordinary courage, or that superiority of mind which could enable him, in a crisis of danger, to direct with ability, or to concentrate with effect, the movements of a great mass of soldiers and citizens. The lines were soon abandoned; the suburbs were seized; the town was furiously bombarded; and mines were ready to blow up the gates. An offer of surrender, on condition of the safe retreat of the garrison, was rejected; and it was agreed, that the troops, exceeding the number of 17,000 men, should submit to captivity.

While the French were thus successful in the cause of Joseph, that adventurer did not fully exercise the authority of a king. He was despised and disobeyed by Napoleon's generals, and by the ministers who formed his cabinet. He had not a revenue adequate to the maintenance of a court. The taxes which he ventured to impose or revive could only be collected by an armed force; and the resources of this species of rapine, the produce of church-plate, and other means of supply, were expended with absurd prodigality. He gave way to indolence, and was negligent of his duty; but he was not altogether inattentive to the means of conciliating the people; for he endeavoured to please them by an affectation of piety, and by the exhibitions of bull-fights. Even these varied appeals to their feelings and propensities did not secure him from general contempt.<sup>10</sup>

The cortes, in this year, did not make any great progress in the effective settlement of national concerns. Yet they continued to display a liberal and patriotic spirit, and enacted some judicious regulations. They annulled feudal claims and exclusive privileges, not without ordering a compensation to individuals who had purchased them; abolished the practice of

torture ; repressed the tyranny exercised by colonial governors ; gave greater freedom to trade ; and promoted, if they did not actually establish, the claims which all the subjects of a state have to personal liberty. In devoting their attention to a new constitutional code, they asserted the doctrine of popular sovereignty ; declared that the power of legislation ought to reside in the national assembly, as fully as the executive power should be possessed by the king ; provided for the responsibility of ministers ; ordered the election of one deputy for every aggregate of 70,000 persons ; and extended the rights and the freedom of citizens.

To this assembly twenty-four members had been allotted for the American colonies ; but deputies, chosen in Spain, were to act as substitutes until a regular election should take place beyond the Atlantic. The commercial restrictions to which the colonists were subjected, and other grievances which they had long endured, had produced great discontent ; and it was the politic intention of the principal junta to open the trade, with a view of securing the attachment of the distant subjects of Spain to the endangered state. The succeeding regents approved the conciliatory scheme, and sent a secret order for that purpose ; but the arbitrary junta of Cadiz, influenced by the baseness of self-interest, insisted upon a revocation of the ordinance, and even declared it to be surreptitious. Disappointed in the hope of redress, and disdaining to acknowledge the usurper (who had repeatedly demanded a complete submission to his will,) the malcontents of the city of Carracas deposed the governor, and nominated a supreme conservative junta, in the name of Ferdinand, but without regard to the authority of those who governed Spain in his behalf.<sup>11</sup> This assumption of power was not confined to the district in which it originated, but extended over Cumana and five other provinces, included in the confederation of Venezuela. Alarmed at the bold proceedings of the colonial junta, and dreading a dissolution of those ties which for ages had bound the provinces to the Spanish yoke, the regents sent out don Antonio Cortabarría for the restoration of the royal authority in those territories ; and the cortes declared that the country in question formed an inseparable part of the monarchy : but the confederates treated the commissary as the agent of an illegitimate government, censured those deputies who pretended to act for them in the cortes, and even compared the national council with the

odious and infamous assembly of Bayonne. In the prosecution of their career, they disclaimed all submission to a prince whose dominion was imaginary, and who had united his fate to that of the emperor of France ; and, claiming an independent rank among the nations of the earth, framed a new constitution for the republic of Venezuela. They accepted the offered services of Miranda; and he was ordered to lead an army against some refractory towns ; but he did not meet with the desired success. In the mean time, the spirit of revolt appeared in the capital of Paraguay, and diffused itself over various parts of the Peruvian viceroyalty. It was also propagated in North America, and occasioned sanguinary contests in the Mexican territories.

With a view of reclaiming the colonial revolvers, the cortes resolved to accept that mediation which was offered by the prince regent of Great Britain. They expected that vigorous aid would be afforded in the event of an unsuccessful negotiation : but it does not appear that such assistance was promised. Three delegates, however, were sent from England, being authorised to act in concert with those citizens who were deputed from Spain to support the claim of Ferdinand.

The example of revolt did not operate in the Asiatic settlements of the Spaniards. If a strong inclination for independence had been felt by the inhabitants of the Philippine islands, it is probable that they might have established their freedom : but they were content with the imperfect advantages which they enjoyed under the dominion of Spain.

The British power, in that part of Asia, was augmented in the course of the year by an important conquest. Lord Minto, having full confidence in the efficacy of British valour and perseverance, concluded that even the boasted fortifications in the island of Java would not secure Batavia and its dependencies from conquest. He therefore sent sir Samuel Auchmuty with a respectable force ; and a descent was effected to the eastward of the colonial capital. The troops then marched along the coast, not meeting a single enemy. The destruction of a bridge over the Anjol river did not impede their progress. As they advanced, they perceived a conflagration, which, they soon found, was intentional on the part of the Dutch. The fire consumed some of the public store-houses ; yet valuable granaries and magazines remained. Instead of defending the town, the garrison and principal citizens retired from it ; and the rest of the inhabitants implored protection. Colonel Gillespie was detached to storm the post of Welte-vreede ; and,



when he found that it had been abandoned, he assaulted another position, which he quickly gained before the arrival of the main body. Between the Jacatra and a deep canal, a number of men, considerably exceeding the amount of the invaders, occupied an entrenched camp: seven redoubts, and many batteries, were ready to pour their fire from the most commanding spots within the lines; and in the centre appeared the fort of Cornelis. As soon as some of the batteries had been silenced, sir Samuel gave orders for an assault. Co- Aug. 26.  
lonel Gibbs, advanced to the right and stormed a redoubt; but at the moment of its capture, a magazine exploded, and destroyed many of the assailants. Lieutenant-colonel Mac-Leod siezed another redoubt with intrepid alertness, but did not live to enjoy the congratulations of his commander. Gillespie, marching to the left, routed an advanced party, assaulted an exterior redoubt with rapid success, passed a bridge over the canal with the fugitives, and forced another part of the works with the bayonet. Eagerly prosecuting his advantage, he defeated a strong *corps* advantageously posted, and gained possession of the fort. The cavalry and horse-artillery now appeared; and a vigorous pursuit announced the triumph of the British arms. About 900 Europeans and sepoys, and above 2000 of the enemy, were killed or wounded. The prisoners nearly amounted to 5000. General Janssen, the governor, escaped, to organize farther resistance: but his endeavours were not crowned with success. The fort of Cheribon was taken by a party of seamen and marines: Samarang was abandoned by the enemy: a strong post beyond that village was stormed; and, when Sourabaya was menaced both by sea and land, a capitulation was signed; by which all the colonial territories were annexed to the British dominions.<sup>12</sup>

Some of the naval actions of this period, if not splendid or brilliant, were not undistinguished. Four British frigates, under the conduct of captain Hoste, were attacked near the isle of Lissa, in the Adriatic sea, by Du-Bordieu, who had eleven French and Italian armed vessels, with more than a double proportion of guns and three times the number of men. Trusting to this great superiority, the enemy expected to destroy or capture the whole of the opposing squadron, and began with an attempt to break the line: but, after a contest of six hours, two of the French frigates were taken, and one was burned. In the same sea, one of the four victorious frigates seized

or destroyed a whole convoy ; and, on the coast of Calabria, a flotilla yielded to the power of British assailants. An attack upon a frigate, near Boulogne, by seven praams and ten brigs, under the eye of Napoleon, excited the ridicule of our countrymen, who in vain wished for an opportunity of drawing a greater force into close action.

A spirited conflict, both naval and military, occurred in the Baltic. Armed vessels and troops made an attempt to retake the isle of Anholt from the English, who baffled all the efforts of the Danes, and captured a greater number than the whole amount of the garrison.

A severe loss was sustained, near the close of the year, in consequence of tempestuous weather. Not only the Saldanha frigate was wrecked on the coast of Ireland, with the loss of the whole crew, but the *St. George* and *Defence* (ships of ninety-eight and seventy-four guns) were driven on the shores of Jutland, and the *Hero* was stranded near the Texel. Admiral Reynolds, and the captains Pakenham, Guion, Atkins, and Newman, and about 2300 of the men who served under them, lost their lives by this unforeseen calamity, which, in the case of the three last ships, might easily have been avoided by an earlier departure from the north.

The Swedes could scarcely be said to be at war with Great Britain ; and it soon appeared, that Bernadotte was more inclined to assume an independent character, and to attend to the interests of the nation which had adopted him, than to follow the dictates of his former patron. While he acted in the name of the indisposed king, he suffered the continental system to languish, as far as Sweden was concerned ; maintained an amicable intercourse with the British Admiral in the Baltic ; refused to send troops to act against the patriots in Spain ; and resolved to listen to the suggestions of the Russian emperor, who had testified a determination of shaking off the trammels in which the Corsican endeavoured to hold him.

Alexander continued to waste the resources of his empire in the war with the infidels. His troops, under Kamenskoi, defeated the vizir Yusef ; but, when Ahmed, a more enterprising warrior, had superseded that minister, he marched with an augmented force, and engaged Kutusoff near Rudshuck. The Russian general pretended that he was victorious ; but, as he hastily retreated to the left bank of the Danube, the claim was not so strongly supported as to be indisputable. Ahmed crossed the river, and formed an entrenched camp, leaving a part of his army on the southern side. Hoping to profit by this di-

vision of the hostile force, Kutusoff detached Markoff to the right bank, to assault the camp which the vizir had left; and the attack was rapid, vigorous, and successful. The Turks were routed; and, by the movements of the Russian vessels and the capture of a river island, the communication was effectually obstructed, after the escape of the Ottoman general from the northern camp. Other advantages were obtained by the invaders, whose progress so discouraged the vizir, that he intimated a desire of negotiation; but the conferences were not immediately productive of peace, even though the enforced surrender of the army on the left bank produced dismay and consternation.

While the Turks were in danger of losing a considerable portion of their European territories, they re-established their sway in Egypt by an act of inhuman treachery. The pasha, Mohammed Ali, had for some time been at peace with the beys; but they were not so submissive as to allow him a plenitude of authority. He therefore resolved, not merely to reduce them to obedience, but to take away the lives of all who were not aware of his perfidy. Under the pretence of celebrating a festival, in compliment to his son, whom he intended to invest with the dignity of commander-in-chief in an expedition against the Arabian followers of Wahab, the sectarian oppressors of the true Moslems, he requested the beys to attend the procession and witness the solemnity. They complied with the invitation; and when they had passed the exterior wall of the citadel of Cairo, they were precluded from escape, seized, and beheaded. The majority of their followers were also put to death; and the Mamelouks, in other towns, were also sacrificed to the ferocious animosity of the pasha.

## LETTER XVIII.

*View of the Public Affairs of Europe, to the Rupture between Napoleon and Alexander ; including the Progress of the War in Spain.*

THE hopes which had been entertained of the king's recovery were more allied to wishes than to reasonable or well founded expectations. In no part of the time which had elapsed from the commencement of the regency, did it appear that his majesty was capable of directing the machine of government ; and a renewed examination of the physicians served only to confirm the apprehensions of the public.

Jan. 7, 1812. When the prince regent opened a new session, the speech which was delivered in his name exhibited a retrospective view of the war, without containing any remarkable observations. To the approaching expiration of the restrictions upon his authority, his friends looked forward with pleasure ; and it was the opinion of many persons, that a total change of the ministry would follow his acquisition of the whole executive power. But the experience of one year had sufficiently habituated him to the politics and proceedings of those ministers who had abridged his power ; and he contented himself with requesting, that earl Grey and lord Grenville would consent to be associated in office with the leaders of the cabinet. Those noblemen assumed a high tone, and declared without reserve, the impossibility of their uniting with the existing government. They forbore to enter into a detail of all the differences of opinion which precluded such an union, and merely stated the case of the catholics of Ireland, whose civil disabilities they wished to remove, in opposition to the known sentiments of the first lord of the treasury and many of his colleagues. Being rather offended than pleased at this answer, the prince gave his full confidence to Mr. Perceval, to the lord chancellor, and the earl of Liverpool, and seemed to be satisfied with their talents, vigor, and patriotism.

An early inquiry was made into a subject which regarded

the personal safety of the inhabitants of London and the suburbs. Near the close of the last year, the murder of two families had excited such general horror, that, for some time, few of the citizens could sleep in peace, almost every one dreading, from the ruthless barbarity of depraved fellow-creatures, the sudden extinction of life. An honest industrious couple, with an infant and a servant boy, had been assassinated by a ruffian; and, while this melancholy catastrophe was the chief topic of conversation, a publican, his wife, and a female domestic, were murdered (as was generally supposed) by the same villain. Williams, at whom suspicion pointed, was apprehended and examined; and, being confined in a house of correction, he was found lifeless in his cell, suspended from an iron bar; thus affording a strong presumption of his guilt. Alarmed at these horrible outrages, the inhabitants of many parishes formed patrolling parties in the night, in aid of the ordinary watchmen; and new means of security were adopted in other parts of the city and its environs. It was proposed by Mr. Ryder, that the act of the year 1774, which regulated the preventive police of fifteen of the most populous parishes, should be extended and improved: but, when a bill had been introduced for that purpose, the consternation subsided, and parliamentary interference was deemed unnecessary.

The same minister also directed his attention to another ground of alarm arising from that distress which was produced by the want of sufficient employment for manufacturers. A disposition to turbulence and mischief had appeared in the neighbourhood of Nottingham.<sup>1</sup> Small parties, consisting chiefly of stocking weavers, destroyed a great number of frames, and threatened to pursue that course until regular industry should be no longer obstructed by the use of the new machinery. The malcontents gradually increased their strength; many of them procured arms; and the whole country, between Nottingham and Mansfield, was filled with perturbation and terror. One of the weavers being killed in an act of outrage, his associates became more furious and violent. The exertions of the armed yeomanry and local militia produced a cessation of mischief: but, after a short interval of forbearance, the attacks upon frames were renewed, and contributions were levied for the subsistence of these disturbers of the peace. In some parts of the counties of Derby and Leicester, similar outrages were perpetrated. Even the enactment of a law, denoun-

<sup>1</sup> In November, 1811.



cing death against the destroyers of frames for making lace and stockings, did not immediately operate for the suppression of the practice. The spirit of riotous insubordination spread into the counties of Chester, Lancaster, and York, where fire-arms were seized, steam looms and other articles of machinery were destroyed, and manufactories set on fire. In the attack of houses, and in contest with the military power, many lives were lost; and others were sacrificed to the vengeance of the law.

From a parliamentary inquiry into the causes and progress of these alarming disturbances, it appeared that a remarkable concert attended the disorderly proceedings; that many societies had been formed, which were directed in their operations by a secret committee; and that, to prevent discovery, an oath was imposed, requiring from each member a concealment of the names and practices of his directors, "under the penalty of being sent out of the world by the first brother who might meet him," and binding him to pursue, with implacable and sanguinary vengeance, every betrayer of the confederacy.<sup>2</sup>

As the committee of inquiry, in each house, stated, near the close of the session, the existence of some remains of a licentious and turbulent spirit, a bill was brought forward, to diminish, by an official demand of the temporary surrender of arms, the facility of procuring them for unlawful purposes, and to give to magistrates the power of immediately dispersing a disorderly party, instead of waiting an hour from the recitation of the act against riots. Some objections were made to the arbitrary nature of this bill; but it was approved by a parliamentary majority; and if the storm did not immediately subside, the agitation was gradually allayed.

Some debates arose on points connected with public economy. As the practice of granting offices or sinecures in reversion obstructed or retarded their abolition, because it was contended that a promise thus given, however improper in itself, ought to be inviolable, Mr. Bankes proposed that an expiring act against such grants should be rendered permanent: but the premier withheld his sanction from the measure; and the new bill was rejected by a small majority. Both houses, however, agreed to a bill which suspended all such grants for two years. Mr. Perceval, like Mr. Pitt, was an enemy to retrenchment; and it was evident, from his language and con-

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Lords.

duct,<sup>3</sup> that all proposals of economy would meet with his decided opposition. When Mr. Bankes, steadily pursuing his object, had brought forward a bill for the abolition or regulation of sinecures and of employments executed by deputies, it was opposed by the minister and his friends; and, although the house agreed to it, the peers refused to give it their sanction.

The orders of council were repeatedly discussed. Their injurious effect upon trade and manufactures were eloquently detailed; and, as the grant of licenses for particular traffic proved a very inadequate compensation, it was the wish of many independent and upright senators, that the decrees should be revoked. Motions for an inquiry were at first rejected; but each house at length commenced a regular investigation, in consequence of numerous applications for redress and relief.

While this important business occupied general attention, it was suspended by the unexpected fate of the minister. He had entered the lobby for the exercise of his parliamentary functions, when he was shot through the May 11. heart by a stranger who had waited for his appearance, and who, having gratified his revenge, did not attempt to escape amidst the prevailing confusion. The assassin bore the name of Bellingham. He had been engaged in mercantile concerns at Archangel; and, being imprisoned by the Russian government for his indiscretion and turbulence, he in vain solicited the interposition of the British envoy at Petersburg. After his return to England, he harrassed some of the ministers with memorials, claiming redress for grievances and losses with which they had no concern; and his disappointment impelled him to an act of atrocious vengeance. He pretended to justify the inhuman deed, and to think that all reasonable persons would entertain the same opinion. Being tried and condemned, he suffered death with remarkable coolness and fortitude.

As Mr. Perceval had been thus assailed because he occupied the highest political station, the house of commons made a very liberal provision for his afflicted widow and his numerous family. The remaining ministers were so sensible of the loss which they had sustained by the death of an able leader, that they seemed for a time to be confounded. The marquis

<sup>3</sup> A sinecure, of which the abolition had been particularly recommended in two reports concerning the public accounts, had lately been given to colonel MacMahon; and when the house of commons, very properly voted for its suppression, a new place for the prince's friend was introduced into the establishment.

Wellesley had previously resigned his employment, because he disapproved the ineffective support which the Spaniards had received; and he was succeeded by lord Castlereagh, who concurred with his chief associates in recommending the earl of Liverpool for the direction of the treasury. Considering the administration as deficient in strength, the prince regent desired the earl to enter into a negotiation with the marquis and Mr. Canning; but these statesmen declined the acceptance of offices, while the leading ministers were unfriendly to the catholic claims. Mr. Stuart Wortley, having discovered the prince's intention of admitting into the cabinet, on this occasion, only such persons as "agreed most nearly and generally in the principles upon which public affairs had long been conducted," moved for an address, requesting his royal highness to form a strong and efficient administration, worthy of public confidence; and, as the majority assented to this motion, lord Wellesley was ordered to propose such appointments as might not exclude the chief members of opposition. Two principles were stated, as the foundations of the new arrangements. One was an early consideration of the catholic question, with a view to a satisfactory settlement; the other a prosecution of the war in the peninsula, "with the best means of the country." To the first point the lords Grey and Grenville readily agreed, while they either objected to an extension of the scale of hostilities in Spain, or gave an evasive answer upon the subject. When it was intimated that they might recommend four or five persons to fill such stations in the cabinet as the prince might think proper to assign to them, they expressed their disapprobation of this mode of settlement, which threatened division and counteraction; and advised, in preference, such a general discussion of measures and arrangements, as might lead to an uniform and beneficial course of policy. The earl of Moira, who had taken an active part in the negotiation, was disgusted at such a reply to an honourable overture and an advantageous offer; and the marquis, finding that he had given offence to the earl of Liverpool and some of his colleagues by arraigning their feeble measures; and that they had consequently declined all concern in a ministry formed by him, relinquished the difficult task of adjusting discordant pretensions. The earl of Moira renewed the application; but the alleged pertinacity of the associated peers, who insisted upon the dismissal of the chief officers of the household, put an end to the treaty. It does not appear, that the regent was particularly desirous of including them in the new arrangements: he pro-

bably apprehended, that they would be disposed to domineer in the cabinet, as they had so high an opinion of their abilities and political consequence. Satisfied with having made the attempt which the house of commons suggested, he desired the earl of Liverpool to take the first seat at the board of treasury, declared Mr. Vansittart chancellor of the exchequer, appointed earl Bathurst secretary of state for the war department, and substituted lord Sidmouth for Mr. Ryder.

The new premier, at the close of the inquiry respecting the orders of council, sacrificed his own opinion of their expediency to the general wish ; and the regent, intimating that the minister of the United States had produced a copy of a French edict, annulling the decrees of Berlin and Milan with regard to American vessels, revoked the ordinances ; with June 23. a proviso that, if the commercial intercourse with Great Britain should still be prohibited, their operation should be restored.

Mr. Vansittart declared that he could not adjust the supplies of the year without a loan of fifteen millions and a half, and a consequent augmentation of taxes, to which the people quietly submitted, because it was useless to complain. For the exigencies of Spain and Portugal, large sums were allowed ; and the defence of Sicily was not forgotten in the estimate.

The disordered state of Sicily, and the intrigues and misconduct of the court, required the attention of the British government. No country, perhaps, ever exhibited a prince more unqualified to reign with reputation, than Ferdinand of Naples. His understanding is so limited, that he has not a just comprehension of the duties of royalty. He has not the shrewdness of an intelligent peasant, or the acquired knowledge of an ordinary gentlemen. He is said to have a good heart ; but, in his actual government few features of benevolence appear. While his queen lived, he suffered her to govern him, and to involve the court, by her wanton extravagance, her perverse politics, and her encouragement of abuses, in great difficulties and dangers. He knew that the preservation of his remaining power depended on the British alliance : yet he neglected his military protectors, and misapplied the subsidy which he received for the support of his army and navy. Acts of rapine and oppression were systematically continued. The prince of Belmonte, who headed the patriotic party in the Sicilian parliament, was imprisoned with his uncle and three other persons of distinction ; and the queen declared, that no remonstrances from lord William Bentinck should influence the conduct of the court : but his lordship, uniting the powers of an

envoy with those of a military commander, suspended the payment of the British subsidy, and persuaded the king to Jan. 16. deprive the queen of all political authority. Francis, the hereditary prince, was appointed vicar general, and permitted to exercise all the prerogatives of royalty : the popular noblemen were released ; and lord William acted in a great measure, as the director of the national affairs. The propriety of his conduct may be disputed by some politicians : but it was almost impossible to deteriorate such a government as that of Sicily ; and, even if his interference had been exercised with less judgment than he displayed, it would not have deserved the severity of animadversion.

Under the auspices of the British envoy, a new constitution was prepared for Sicily. Of the framers of this code, religion was the first consideration ; and only the Romish system was allowed. If the king should profess a different faith, he was no longer to be regarded or obeyed as the sovereign. The legislative power was the next object ; and this was declared to reside in the parliament, consisting, beside the king, of the houses of peers and commons. The royal assent was necessary for the confirmation of every act ; but his majesty was not obliged to grant it. All the guilt and misconduct of ministers and judges were to be punished by the peers, on the accusation of the commons. While the king enjoyed the privilege of dissolving or proroguing the parliament, he was bound to convocate it in every year. Investitures, reliefs, and other appendages of feudality, were abolished with the baronial jurisdiction ; and, as soon as a new civil code should be completed, no subject was to be molested in the enjoyment of his property, deprived of his liberty, or punished in any mode, without the express sanction or authority of the law. The resemblance which these enactments bore to the English constitution, pointed out, even to the most careless observer, the influence of British counsels over the Sicilian government.

An important change was also effected in the administration of Spain. As neither the conduct of the regents, nor that of the cortes, had given general satisfaction, the public voice called for a new government and a new assembly. Vera, one of the deputies, proposed that a person of the royal family should be at the head of the next regency ; that the constitution should be completed within a month ; and that the cortes should then be dissolved : but Arguelles offered other proposals, which were more acceptable to the majority. With regard to the administration, it was resolved that the duke del Infantado



should be the president, and general O'Donnel should act as his deputy. - The members of the former regency were appointed counsellors of state, or assistants to the ruling statesmen.

The new regents thought it their duty to call the public attention to the dangers which still impended over the nation, and to rouse all the remains of courage, honour, and patriotism: but, although they could not deny the urgency of the peril, or the magnitude of the evils which assailed the country, they did not despair of the re-establishment of the monarchy and the preservation of their dearest interests. The cries of the soldiery (they said,) lamenting their painful privations, the groans of the inhabitants of those districts which were on the point of subjugation, the complaints of the wretched provincials who were oppressed by the tyranny of ferocious aliens, had reached the seat of government; and the answer to these appeals involved the most imperious duties. All the obstacles which had impaired the vigour of authority, must be speedily removed: the majesty of the people must be maintained: a strict union must prevail: all private concerns must yield to the general good: grievances must be redressed; and the spirit of a free people must be directed with holy zeal to the deliverance and salvation of the country. Every exertion would be made by the new governors for the due exercise of their high and arduous trust; and they hoped to be equally entitled with the national representatives to public confidence and regard.

This address was applauded by the people; and it was followed by a reform in various departments of the administration. The subsequent promulgation of the constitutional code seemed to give new vigor to the nation, and to enliven the hopes of success and of final triumph. March 20.

The war in Spain was renewed with spirit; indeed, it was scarcely intermitted during that season which seems more particularly to call for its cessation. Lord Wellington advanced toward Ciudad-Rodrigo; stormed a redoubt recently constructed on a neighbouring hill; and, for eleven days, made regular approaches, while lieutenant-general Hill was employed with equal utility in clearing the country between the Guadiana and the Tagus, and in precluding the co-operation of Soult with Marmont. When some breaches appeared in the body of the place, an assault was ordered, although the approaches would have been considered, by very cautious officers, as too distant for such a risk. Five columns, advancing Jan. 19. in the evening from the trenches, reached their al-

lotted stations amidst a severe fire from the works. Brigadier Pack converted a feint into a real attack; and major Ridge having gained an outwork by scalade, stormed the principal breach, followed by the brigade of major-general Mac-Kinnon, who, in his progress, was blown up by the explosion of a magazine. Crauford, a gallant officer of the same rank, was mortally wounded in his approach; and many other brave men fell in the dangerous service; but all the assaults were successful. Seeing the allies in possession of the ramparts, the garrison ceased to resist; and above 1700 men became prisoners of war. On the side of the captors, 1310 persons were killed or wounded, from the commencement of the siege to the close of the assault.

Marmont was surprised at the speedy reduction of so defensible a town; and, in the hope of preventing farther operations of this kind by success in the field, he endeavoured to provoke lord Wellington to an engagement: but the challenge was tacitly declined. After an interval of tranquil observation, during which the defender of the peninsula received from Great Britain the pleasing intelligence of the grant of an earldom and an additional pension, he moved toward the Guadiana, and invested Badajoz. Soon after the siege had been formed, such a *sortie* was made as excited derision rather than terror; and, when only three weeks had elapsed from the commencement of the operations, the garrison, unrelieved either by Soult or Marmont, witnessed with apprehension and dismay those preparations for a general assault which had lately been so effectual. Breaches had been made in two of the bastions; but, to divide the attention of the enemy, a third was effected before the process of storming began. Lieutenant-

April 6. general Picton was ordered to scale the walls of the castle, while Colville and Bernard conducted those divisions which were expected to force their way through the breaches. On the left a feint was proposed, which was to become a real attack, if a favourable occasion should be offered. The principal fortress was defended by vigorous but fruitless exertions. So powerful were the obstacles to the ascent of the breaches, that the troops, after considerable loss, were obliged to retire. The brigade of major-general Walker, being encouraged to make an effective assault, proceeded to a bastion in which no opening had been made, and took it by scalade. Orders were now given for a renewal of the discontinued attempt; but it was rendered unnecessary by a cessa-

tion of resistance. In the morning, the governor consented to a surrender.<sup>4</sup>

The loss which attended this conquest was dreadfully severe. During the siege and in the assault, 1035 of the confederates lost their lives, and 3789 were wounded. It was particularly stated by the general, that the latter "were doing well;" but, of so great a number, a considerable proportion may be supposed to have died of their wounds. The movements of Soult indicated an intention of marching to the relief of the garrison; but, being unexpectedly informed of the surrender, he hastily retreated. His main body reached Llerena in safety, while his rear-guard suffered both loss and disgrace in a conflict at Villa-Garcia.

As an important post in Estremadura still remained in the enemy's possession, sir Rowland Hill was detached for its reduction. Strong works had been raised at the bridge of Almaraz on the Tagus, near which were also two well-constructed forts, defending the shortest and best communication between the armies of southern Spain and of Portugal. This post was stormed; and, when its occupants had been killed, drowned, or captured, an entire demolition was ordered.

The caution of the earl of Wellington became less scrupulous, as that of Marmont increased. He crossed the Agueda in quest of the enemy, and advanced to the Tormes. The marshal retreated, leaving a garrison at Salamanca, in fortified colleges and monasteries. When he found that a siege had commenced, he sent a part of his army to take a forward position; and, when this detachment had been repelled, an attempt was made to secure a communication with the troops in the city by the left bank: but this scheme was also baffled by the vigilance of the besiegers. In storming one of the forts, major-general Bowes was wounded: he retired for chirurgical aid, and, hastening back to lead the party, perished in a fruitless attack. Flames being seen to rise from the largest fort, and a breach appearing in another, the commandant of the former entreated a delay of some hours, for the adjustment of a capitulation. Instead of acceding to the request, the earl gave orders for an assault, unless an immediate surrender should be made. The storm began, and the officer yielded himself and his men to captivity. The assailants were successful in other parts of the town; and, when they observed the excellence of

<sup>4</sup> London Gazette Extraordinary of April 24.

the fortifications, many were surprised at the short duration of the siege, which was not protracted beyond ten days.

When the allies advanced after this success, Marmont endeavoured to secure himself in a strong position upon the right bank of the Douro; but, being gratified with an accession of force, he seemed desirous of meeting his adversaries in the field. He sent a division over the river, as if he wished to turn the left of lord Wellington, who then resolved to concentrate his force on the Guarena. The French detachment was suddenly recalled; and the whole army made a quick march to Tordesillas, where a passage was effected. At Castrejon, the left flank of the allied position was turned; but an orderly retreat was not prevented. On the plain of Vallesa, the earl expected a general attack, which the marshal, however, was not then inclined to risque. Both armies being at length assembled near the Tormes, the French commander hoped, by the superiority of his force, to preclude the retreat of his antagonist. With this view, he incautiously extended his line, and so far weakened it by that disposition, as to afford an opportunity of attack, for which the allies had long wished. Another circumstance which induced the earl to hasten a collision, was the report of an approaching reinforcement from the French army of the north. He immediately strengthened his right wing, which the enemy particularly wished to out-  
July 22. flank; and gave directions for an attempt to turn the

opposing left, posted on an eminence. Major-general Pakenham conducted this attack with that courage and skill which rendered it successful. He was well supported by the Portuguese cavalry and the English dragoons, who baffled all the efforts which were directed against the flank of his main body. During this contest, brigadier Bradford assaulted the centre; Pack endeavoured to gain an important height; and sir Stapleton Cotton, with an equestrian corps, rushed upon a strong body of infantry. The first of these officers drove the French from one eminence to another, and spread confusion among their ranks; and, while the second was so powerfully resisted, that he did not meet with the success which he deserved, the third triumphantly prevailed. The French right, for a considerable time withstood every assault; but, when it was harrassed both in front and flank, it gave way in disorder; and, when night approached, all parts of the line were retreating. The darkness favored the escape of a great part of the vanquished army; but, in the morning, the rear guard being attacked, the brigade of cavalry, belonging to the German le-

gion, captured three battalions. The prisoners amounted to 6500 men; and the killed and wounded are supposed to have far exceeded that number. In the allied army, almost 700 lost their lives, and 4270 were wounded. The Spaniards had scarcely any concern in this conflict, as they only lost two of their number.<sup>5</sup>

In the warmth of zeal and the eagerness of hope, some engagements have been termed victories, when the opposite combatants have been merely driven to a short distance from their former stations, and the supposed conquerors have been obliged to retreat; and the propagators of delusion have basely arraigned the motives of those who pretended to doubt the reality or the importance of the boasted success: but the battle of Salamanca was not of this disputable class, being evidently attended with the honors and productive of the fruits of victory.

The defeated army fled to the Douro, and the rear guard even rested on the left bank; but, on the approach of the allies, it pursued its course into Old Castile. Valladolid was left to the pursuers, who found considerable spoils in that city, and were saluted by the inhabitants with acclamations of joy and gratitude. It was now the determination of lord Wellington to engage the central army (if Joseph had the courage to meet him,) and enforce the dereliction of the capital. Some inconsiderable actions occurred in the march; but the usurper retreated to the southward; and Madrid was re-occupied in the name of Ferdinand. The Buen-Retiro, and the fort of la China, made a show of resistance, which soon yielded to a desire of capitulation.

From the joy which the citizens of Madrid evinced at the appearance of their liberators, it was presumed that the Anti-Gallican zeal had not suffered any abatement, and that the late success would lead to a display of redoubled energy; but, neither in the metropolis, nor in the rest of the kingdom, did the exertions of the people fully answer the reasonable expectations of their British friends. They still resisted the enemy, without giving that decisive support, which, while the French were eagerly employed in their expedition to Russia, might have completely rescued Spain from an ignominious yoke.

The recapture of Seville, and the termination of the mischievous and disgraceful blockade of Cadiz, were among the fruits of the victory. Colonel Skerret and the Spanish general La-Cruz advanced to the Andalusian capital, and, having,



forced their way into the suburbs, attacked the defenders of the bridge, and drove them back into the city, covering the streets with victims. Unbounded joy, it is said, prevailed also on this occasion. Before the French commenced their retreat from Cadiz, they destroyed their fortifications, and eadeavour-  
ed to render useless the great quantity of artillery which they left; but valuable stores remained uninjured.

Notwithstanding this success, the want of co-operation and of concert diminished the effect of the victory; and even the British general failed in a siege, which, if not with the most confident hopes; he had boldly undertaken. The castle of Burgos, although it was, in the language of an engineer, "an extremely insignificant place, unworthy the name of a fortress," made a long and successful defence. It was garrisoned only by 2000 men; but they had an ample supply of ammunition and provisions, and derived strength and security from the commanding situation of the place. Not having the means of a regular siege, the general resolved to assault each line successively. The horn-work of St. Michael was first attacked. It was stormed, and a lodgment effected; and the exterior line of the fortress was then attempted by scalade, without the previous trouble of making a breach: but the efforts were abortive. The next scheme was to undermine the wall; and, when two breaches had thus been made, the French were driven into their covered way; from which, however, they soon rushed, and ruined the lodgments. After some further operations, arrangements were made for storming the second line; but the attempt was fruitless, and the siege was raised, in the fifth week from the investment, when above 2050 men had been killed, wounded, or lost, in the progress of the rash enterprise.<sup>6</sup>

In the retreat consequent upon this failure, the allies suffered no small loss before they reached the vicinity of Salamanca. The earl was disposed to attack his pursuers near the Tormes; but when he had attentively observed the strength of their position, he retired to Ciudad-Rodrigo, and afterward took refuge at Freynada from the increasing force and reviving alacrity of the enemy.

During this campaign, the cause of Ferdinand derived some support from the return of the Russian emperor to the Anti-July 20. Gallican system. He who had acknowledged the usurper, concluded a treaty of alliance with those

who acted in the name of the legitimate prince, and gave his sanction to the meeting of the cortes, and to the constitution which the patriots had framed,

The authority of Ferdinand was also recognised by the members of the confederacy of Venezuela. A dreadful visitation of Providence had the principal effect in promoting the return of the provincials to their allegiance. An earthquake convulsed the city of Caraccas, la Guayra, and other towns, and myriads of the inhabitants perished amidst the ruins. So shocked were the survivors at this catastrophe, that when the priests represented it as a manifestation of the divine wrath for the late treasonable association, the people began to evince a desire of submission. Monteverde, who commanded the armed royalists at Coro, advanced to act against the discouraged votaries of independence; and, when he had captured Caraccas and seized Miranda, the confederates relinquished their opposition, and acknowledged the regency and the cortes of Spain.

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## LETTER XIX.

### *History of the War between France and Russia to the Battle of Borodino.*

INSPIRED with the madness of ambition, and inflamed with the fury of revenge, Napoleon resolved to undertake an expedition into the heart of Russia. He knew that the subjects of Alexander were hardy and brave; and he had reason to suppose, that they would not tamely suffer a prince, whom they loved and esteemed, to be overwhelmed or enslaved by a foreign adventurer: yet he trusted for success to the superior discipline of his troops, to the great talents and experience of his principal officers, and to his own abilities and good fortune. He must have foreseen difficulties and dangers; but, as he confidently hoped to surmount them, they made little impression upon his mind, and served only to stimulate his zeal and presumption. His favorite generals encouraged the gigantic

scheme of conquest, and flattered the vanity of the rash and sanguinary despot, by boasting of the terror of his name and the invincibility of his legions. The splendid prospect so dazzled his sight, that he despised the suggestions of prudence, and was as deaf to the voice of compassion and humanity, as any warrior of ancient and barbarous times. He seemed to think that men were born only to risque their lives in the train of a military leader, to promote his aggrandisement, and be blindly subservient to his fame and glory; and, in the country in which he had acquired his exorbitant power, he found the generality of the people as unfeeling and unprincipled as himself, and ready to co-operate with zeal in his iniquitous and murderous schemes.

A. D. 1812, While he was preparing for this arduous enterprise, he pretended to be sincerely desirous of peace: but his dissimulation did not deceive the Russian potentate, by whom his selfish and inhuman character was properly appreciated. His obvious desire of keeping Alexander in a state of complete subserviency could not long escape the observation even of the most dull and credulous prince; and, as the northern emperor is far from being deficient in good sense or sagacity, he discerned the views of the artful Corsican, and was aware of the danger to which his independence was exposed. To surrender his will, on every occasion, to the dictates of one who had no right to control him, was a degradation to which he scorned to submit. He was willing to make some sacrifices for the preservation of peace with a powerful state; but he would not purchase it upon ignominious terms.

After a frequency of mutual remonstrance, various points still remained in dispute. Alexander demanded an evacuation of the Prussian fortresses and of Swedish Pomerania, and an indemnity for the duchy of Oldenburg; and he insisted upon a freedom of trade with neutral powers, promising at the same time to avoid a direct commerce with Great Britain. Napoleon professed a wish to enter upon a regular negotiation, and complained of the evasive conduct of the emperor, who declined the grant of full powers for a treaty, and even made preparations for war. "For eighteen months (said Maret) Russia has grasped her sword, whenever proposals of accommodation have been made to her."

Finding that he could not lull Alexander into a blind security, Bonaparte pretended to be seriously disappointed in the hope of concluding a new treaty with that prince; and, alleg-

ing an extreme unwillingness to enter into a sanguinary contest with him; he made overtures to the British government; as if he wished for a negotiation which might lead to a general peace. He offered to guaranty the independence and integrity of Spain and Portugal, and to secure Sicily to the reigning family, provided that Naples should also remain under its existing sovereign. As he stipulated for the prevalence of the *present dynasty* in Spain, the prince regent requested an explanation of his meaning, and declared a readiness to treat, if the expressions were intended to refer to Ferdinand VII. and the house of Bourbon. By not replying to this communication, the despot admitted, that he alluded to the usurper of the Spanish throne; and such a proposal served only to betray the fallacy of his pretences and the baseness of his duplicity.

In answer to the complaint of a disinclination for negotiating, prince Kurakin, the Russian ambassador at Paris, intimated to Maret, that, if the terms proposed by him as the foundation of a treaty should be accepted by Napoleon, there was no doubt of the assent of Alexander to any convention which his representative might be induced to sign; and count Komanzoff, writing from Wilna to the French minister, assured him that the prince was furnished with ample means of adjusting all differences. But, when the ambassador required the evacuation of every part of the Prussian territories, as a preliminary to a negotiation, and repeatedly demanded passports, Napoleon, who had already sent an army to the Oder, resolved to commence hostilities.

As Alexander did not expect to avoid a rupture with Bonaparte, he had already endeavoured to secure the friendship, if not the co-operation, of the Swedish court. He knew that his enemy would procure all possible aid for the purpose of overwhelming him; and he was therefore desirous of ascertaining whether the crown prince would be disposed to swell the mass of auxiliary force which his late patron hoped to bring into the field. In an interview with Bernadotte, he was soon released from all anxiety in that respect, and convinced of the good intentions of the new director of the Swedish cabinet. It was not the seizure of Pomerania<sup>1</sup> that particularly roused the indignation of the prince: he was sufficiently inclined, without reference to that act of injustice, to support the interest of Swe-

<sup>1</sup> That province had been restored to Sweden in consequence of the pacification; but it was arbitrarily seized when Napoleon was preparing for his expedition to Russia.

den, and stem the torrent of the French ambition. But, as the country had suffered severely by the late war, he would not immediately engage to assist the Russians: yet he promised to augment the military force, and to provide against hazardous contingencies. In the mean time, he advised the king to revoke the prohibition of British commerce, and to resist the degrading influence of France; and, in the course of the year, a treaty was concluded, by which he secured British aid, if any power whatever, resenting the present pacification, should attack the Swedes. A similar treaty was signed between Great Britain and Russia; but the Danish court declined an imitation of the example.

Napoleon's preparations exceeded those which had secured the success of his former wars. The scale upon which he organised his means of conquest seemed to be proportioned to the mischief which he intended to inflict, and the havock that he hoped to diffuse. He advanced like the demon of destruction, surrounded by myriads of devoted agents, whom he had inspired with his own fury. While he breathed war in his heart, he professed himself a friend to peace, and ordered Lauriston to request a reconsideration of Alexander's late demand; but the ambassador was not admitted to an interview either with the emperor or his minister, both of whom knew that the proposed conference would be useless and nugatory. Enraged at this mark of contempt, the tyrant exclaimed, "The conquered assume the high tone of conquerors: they are urged by fatality; let their destiny take its course." He instantly commanded his troops to pass the Niemen, and declared that he would conduct his victorious legions into the heart of Russia.

The act of aggression, with which the war commenced, was committed at Kowna, where the Cossacks were surprised and June 24. routed by the light troops of the invading army. A proclamation, issued by Alexander, announced to the whole nation this sanguinary outrage, and called for the strenuous exertions of an injured people against a faithless foe; and, in a letter to count Soltikoff, intended for the public eye, he expressed his full confidence in the courage and loyalty of his subjects, and declared that he would not sheathe his sword while a single enemy remained within the boundaries of the empire.

Arranged in nine great divisions, the troops of Napoleon approached the capital of Lithuania, while another strong corps occupied the country between the Elbe and the Oder. The



Russians being greatly out-numbered by their adversaries,<sup>2</sup> quitted the station which they had for some time occupied near Wilna; and their principal army, commanded by Barclay de Tolli, retired towards the Dwina. Prince Bagration, who was advancing at the head of a smaller force, was not informed of the intended retreat; and he was so endangered by the approach of hostile detachments, that he could not easily fix upon a safe *route*. Platoff, the Cossack general, hastening to his assistance, defeated the advanced guard of Jerome Bonaparte; and having repelled other fierce attacks, he retired, as did also the prince, towards the Nieper.

To check the advance of the fierce invaders, Alexander had ordered the country, from the Vistula to the Dwina, to be deprived of those stores and that produce which would have been gladly seized by the ruffian marauders; but their zeal for promoting the glory of their enterprising leader would have led them, undiscouraged, through pathless deserts. At Drissa, the main army entrenched itself, awaiting the arrival of Bagration; but the non-appearance of the prince induced the commander in chief to remove his station to Vitepsk, where, by a concentration of force, he might be enabled to contend with the enemy.

While the troops were at Polotsk, the emperor, by two proclamations, roused the spirit of his people. One was particularly addressed to the citizens of Moscow; the other, to the nation in general. In the former, he stated the urgent necessity of resisting, with unanimous energy, the malignant attempts of the French, whose object was the extinction of the Russian name. In addition to the army which now faced the treacherous foe, a great force, he said, ought to be raised in the interior of the empire; and the example of the ancient capital would have a decisive influence in calling forth the mass of the population. In the second address, he appealed to the nobles and the clergy, and exhorted them to concur with the people in the sacred cause of religion and patriotism, against an infamous tyrant, who, having enslaved the nation which he governed, wished to involve all other communities in the same servitude. "Unite!" he emphatically said—"carry the cross in your hearts, and the iron in your hands; and no human force will triumph over you!"

These addresses were not necessary to rouse the zeal of the

<sup>2</sup> Who are supposed to have exceeded the amount of 475,000, about 100,000 auxiliaries (Germans, Poles, Dutch, Swiss, Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese) being included.

Russians, who were ready to rush into arms with spontaneous ardor. Many of the nobles raised regiments for the defence of their country : ladies gave up the glittering ornaments of their persons to swell the public treasure : almost every one, except the poor, made pecuniary sacrifices ; and the towns and villages sent forth their hardy inmates to encounter all the dangers of military service. The clergy sedulously propagated the rising spirit ; the cause of their country, supported against an impious race, was declared to be the cause of God ; and the people embarked in this crusade with all the enthusiasm of chivalry. They were eager to emulate the fame of Gideon, by chushing the modern Midianites, or to rival the glory of the Maccabees, by triumphing over the enemies of God's chosen race.

At Vitepsk, the commander in chief was still disappointed in the hope of Bagration's arrival ; and he was apprehensive of the speedy approach of the French to the city of Smolensk, which he might not be able to secure. In the mean time, he anxiously watched the movements of the enemy, sending out strong detachments in various directions. Count Osterman was advancing in the neighbourhood of Ostrowna, when his cavalry met a strong body of French horse. A brisk conflict ensued, in which the Russians prevailed ; but, by a precipitate pursuit, they exposed themselves to an attack from another body of the enemy, and were in danger of being overwhelmed. The count saved the fugitives from ruin, and posted his whole *corps* so advantageously, as to prevent the French, though frequently reinforced, from defeating or dislodging him.

He then, after considerable loss,<sup>3</sup> rejoined the grand army, leaving lieutenant-general Konownitzen with such a force as might serve to check the immediate progress of the invaders. This gallant officer repeatedly baffled the efforts of the assailants, and maintained his post until he was recalled.

The retreat of the Russians, by leaving Lithuania to the enemy, furnished Napoleon with an opportunity of exercising his skill in political organization. He instituted a provisional government for the province, and enacted a variety of regulations, as if he expected to be its permanent possessor. He boasted that he had granted liberty to a population of four millions, and pretended to witness, with feelings of exultation, the

<sup>3</sup> The French affirm, that 5 or 6000 of the Russians were killed or wounded in these three conflicts, and that only 1100 of the rival combatants suffered : but the former number may fairly be reduced to 3500, and the latter be augmented to that amount.

joy and gratitude which the presence of their guardian angel inspired.

Moscow was the object to which he directed his early attention; but he was so far from neglecting Petersburg, that he gave instructions to Oudinot and Macdonald to cut off the communication between that city and the army of its sovereign. Count Witgenstein, aware of this dangerous scheme, labored to prevent the junction of those commanders. He harrassed the former, for three days, with such alertness and vigor, that the defeated enemy, after a very severe loss, with difficulty reached the entrenched post at Polotsk.<sup>4</sup> A retrograde movement, on the part of Macdonald, prevented a collision between him and the victorious general.

The grand army near Vitepsk, being exposed to some partial attacks, repelled them by courage and skill; and, with little farther molestation, reached the vicinity of Smolensk. Bagration, in the mean time, was involved in danger of ruin. In approaching Mohiloff, he found that a strong division, under Davoust, occupied the neighboring country. His troops were too fatigued to be fully prepared for battle; yet he resolved to act offensively, rather than patiently submit to the difficulties of a harrassed march. He attacked the enemy with a firm countenance, and so far prevailed, as to force the marshal's temporary works; but, being encountered by increasing numbers, he was obliged to retreat from his new post to his former station, which he maintained for many hours. At one time, he made such an impression as seemed to portend victory. Disappointed in his hopes by the pressure of superior force, he retired in good order with his artillery, when about 3000 of his men had been killed or wounded. The French, who sustained an equal or a greater loss, tacitly acknowledged their sense of his military talents by suffering him to resume his march, until he opened a satisfactory communication with the grand army. By loss and desertion, however, (for 10,000 Polanders had retired at different times from his standard,) his force was so diminished, that, when it was added to the troops which had long expected his arrival, the whole army under Barclay de Tolly did not exceed 135,000 men. But other considerable bodies were in various stations; and the exertions and influence of the emperor promised an augmentation of the means of defence and of victory. The termination of his war with the Turks left another

<sup>4</sup> Petersburg Gazette of August 8.—In the eleventh French bulletin, this battle is recounted with obvious marks of aggression and falsehood.

army at his disposal ; for all the intrigues of the French agents, at the Porte could not prevent the seasonable conclusion of a pacific treaty.

In the conferences which preceded and produced this pacification, the Russians had endeavoured to intimidate the Turks into the cession of Moldavia and Wallachia ; but, finding that the grand seignor was determined rather to continue the war than submit to such a demand, they required only a third part of the former province, and the small territory of Bessarabia. It was therefore agreed, that the course of the river Pruth to its mouth, and the Danube from that point to the Black Sea, should be the boundaries of the two empires. With regard to the Servians, it was stipulated, that a complete amnesty should be allowed ; and the Porte engaged not to exact any other contributions than such as should be settled with the concurrence of that community. This article reflects honour upon Alexander, who was not so intent on his own advantage, as to forget or neglect the interest of his allies.

While the two grand armies directed their chief attention to Smolensk, as the scene of a vigorous contest, the Russians under Tormosoff, and the Saxons, maintained the military honour of their respective nations. After a spirited conflict near Kobrin, in which the latter severely suffered by a well directed attack from Kamenskoi ; Tormosoff entertained the hope of crushing the enemy in that quarter. Foreseeing his aim, general Regnier attacked him in an elevated position, which he had not made so strong as a more circumspect commander would have rendered it. The ensuing conflict was fierce and obstinate. The Austrians under the prince of Schwartzemberg, marched against the right wing of the Russians ; but, being entangled in a morass, they lost by their precipitancy a multitude of their bravest comrades. All the efforts of Regnier were directed to Tormosoff's left, which he in vain attempted to turn. Night at length put an end to the engagement, when about 4000 of the Russians, and 5000 of their opponents, had been killed or wounded.

The accession of strength, received by Oudinot at Polotsk, rather encouraged than deterred count Witgenstein, who led his reinforced division to a new attack. The marshal, unwilling to be anticipated, hastened from his lines, and commenced the action ; but he was so resolutely opposed, that he could not make the smallest impression. His troops were soon thrown into great disorder ; and, when they were menaced with a general charge, he was disabled by a severe wound. The

French and Bavarians then gave way in all parts of their line: but the exhortations of St. Cyr, who assumed the command, contributed to the revival of their courage; and, on the following day, he advanced in a more orderly disposition than Oudinot had given himself time to make, and boldly contended for victory. His left wing fought with less spirit than the rest of his force, and quickly retreated from the vigor of the bayonet; the centre sustained frequent assaults before it fell back; and the right, under general Wrede, made strenuous but unavailing efforts, after it had ceased to be supported. The pursuit was continued to the suburbs of Polotsk; and great was the loss of the routed enemy.

While the gallant Witgenstein thus obstructed the intended march to Petersburg, Smolensk was exposed to all the miseries of an assault. Notwithstanding its distance from Moscow, it was regarded as the barrier and bulwark of that city: it was therefore as bravely defended as it was fiercely attacked. As it was not fortified in the modern style, it could not sustain a long siege; and either the enemy must be repelled, or it would be taken by a *coup de main*. About 30,000 soldiers were stationed in the city, manning the old towers and the new works. Barclay de Tolly occupied, with his main body, the heights on the right bank of the Nieper, and maintained a communication with the town by three bridges; while prince Bagration was directed to remain with his division on the road leading to Moscow, on the southern side of the river. A great number of the terrified inhabitants had emigrated from the threatened city to more distant towns: many had sought protection by joining the army on the heights; and the most valuable part of the portable property had been removed beyond the supposed reach of the foreign robbers.

Bonaparte's first object was to storm the entrenched suburbs. Prince Poniatowski on the right, Davoust in the centre, and Ney on the left, pushed forward their divisions; and, while a hundred pieces of artillery played upon the intruders, they still advanced with a fearless front, and in two hours forced the entrenchments. The city was then endangered by an incessant fire from well furnished batteries; and, although the towers and works poured out a corresponding fire, it was evident that the place could not be defended for another day.

The commander in chief, who had harrassed the approaching enemy from his batteries with greater spirit than effect, resolved to quit his post, and retire toward Moscow. His



troops moved quietly in two columns ; and general Korff received orders to follow him with the defenders of the city, when farther resistance seemed to be useless. That the assailants might not reap the full benefit which they expected from their success, the magazines were destroyed, and the town was involved in conflagration by the torch-bearing hands of its own inhabitants. Korff then retired in the night with the remains of his force ; and, before the break of day, the French took possession of the burning town.<sup>5</sup> They endeavoured to stop the progress of the flames, but not before they had committed, upon the defenceless citizens, many acts of outrage and barbarity.

It could not be expected that the retiring troops would long remain unmolested. Ney's division crossed the river by a bridge which was hastily formed, and commenced a furious pursuit, in which other strong detachments joined. Korff, having siezed an advantageous position near Valentina, kept the enemy in check, until he received a reinforcement : he then maintained his post with undaunted resolution against repeated assaults, and baffled all the skill and courage of Ney and Davoust, and all the impetuosity of Murat. At length the French desisted, after a loss which nearly doubled that of their opponents.

The enemy had re-commenced the pursuit, when Barclay de Tolli was succeeded by a more able general. This was the veteran Kutusoff, who, unwilling to enjoy inglorious repose when the deliverance of his country required extraordinary exertions, eagerly accepted the arduous and perilous command. He was of opinion that a general engagement ought now to be hazarded, before the invaders could reach Moscow ; and he fixed upon a position near Borodino, where he thought he could act with advantage. The ground near that village was chiefly level ; but there were various inequalities, and some parts were wooded. A ravine, through which flowed a deep rivulet called the Koloya, served to protect his centre and his right : his left was less secured by the nature of its situation, and was therefore better fortified by the labour of the troops than the other parts of the position. An unfinished redoubt upon an eminence in the front drew the attention of Bonaparte, who sent a strong body to storm the post, which was

<sup>5</sup> The loss of each party cannot be ascertained, as the accounts are so contradictory : but is supposed that at least 6000 Russians were killed or wounded, and that a loss considerably greater was sustained by the French.

not relinquished without the destruction of many of the assailants. After the anxious pause of a day, the French advanced with their usual confidence and animation, and attacked the left wing, which was commanded by prince Bagration. Davoust and Poniatowsky conducted this attack; and, when the battle had for some time raged in this part of the field, Ney moved forward with a great force against the centre, while Beauharnois assaulted the right. For three hours no visible impression was made upon the left; but Napoleon hoped to overpower that division by detaching Murat with a considerable reinforcement and an additional supply of artillery. The exertions of this corps had a speedy but not a complete effect. The Russians felt the shock, and gave way in disorder. Kutusoff, who was not unprepared for this event, sent seasonable succour from his second line; and the prince so far profited by it as to contend with redoubled eagerness for the posts from which he had been dislodged. During the murderous conflict which ensued, light troops and militia rushed from an ambuscade which had been formed in a wood, and acted with such vigour, that the French fell back in confusion. The contest between Beauharnois and Barclay de Tolly was less obstinate; and it terminated in favour of the Russians. A part of the right wing being now transferred to the centre, Kutusoff was enabled to repel the opposite division, after a great loss on both sides. The Cossacks faintly pursued for some miles the retiring enemy, who did not fail, however, to claim the victory. About 30,000 of the Russians, and 40,000 of their adversaries, lost their lives, or were wounded. The most distinguished and lamented victim was prince Bagration, one of the best officers in the service of Alexander.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> London Gazette Extraordinary of October 7.—Porter's Narrative of the Campaign.—As the Ko'oya runs into the Moskwa, the French named the battle from this river; but it has more generally taken its denomination from Borodino.

## LETTER XX.

*History of the War in the North, continued to the retreat of the French.*

**WITHOUT** detracting from the valour of A. D. 1812. the Russians, or disparaging the patriotic cause in which they were engaged, it may be affirmed that the battle of Borodino was, on their part, rather a check and a repulse than a victory. It contributed, however, to the extension of their military fame, and convinced even the vain and boastful French, that they were no despicable enemies. Alexander received the report of their prowess with marks of joy, allayed by regret for the loss of such a multitude of his subjects, who deserved a longer duration of existence.

Being reinforced soon after the battle, Napoleon directed his course toward Moscow. Kutusoff, finding himself too weak to cope with him, did not oppose his advance, but desired Rostopchin, the commandant of Moscow, to expedite the removal of valuable property from that city, from which, at the same time, the greater part of the population retired. On the seventh day of the resumed march, the presumptuous enemy appeared before the walls of the ancient capital of the empire. A part of the army immediately entered the city; and Murat was preparing to take possession of the Kremlin, when he was saluted with a fire of musquetry. The gates were quickly forced, and the defenders of the fortress were murdered, as if the mere show of resistance had rendered them unworthy of mercy. At the very time of this wanton exercise of cruelty, flames began to appear in various parts of the city,—the dire effects of a previous concert between the commandant and the inhabitants. This was a violent and dreadful remedy; but the nature of the disease seemed to call for it. It was not an act of absolute necessity: yet as it was calculated to destroy the comforts and resources of the invaders, it was apparently an act of patriotic magnanimity. It manifested the determination of the Russians to conquer or die; and the propagation of this undaunted and inflexible spirit through the empire over-

awed and dispirited the enemy, upon whom the ruin of the venerable city operated with all the consequences of a calamitous defeat.<sup>1</sup>

Bonaparte delayed his entrance into Moscow, in the hope of receiving, from the constituted authorities, an invitation to honour them with his august presence: but, being informed that no public functionaries remained in the city, he proceeded to the scene of horror. Enraged at the sight, he menaced the incendiaries with his vengeance. While he was holding a council of war in the palace, a fire was said to have broken out in the Kremlin; and, in the fury of resentment, he ordered all who might be suspected of having committed this daring outrage, to be brought before him. Many were instantly apprehended; and, on their disdainful refusal of confession, some were put to death by the mandate of the stern tyrant, whose iniquitous aggression had given occasion for the supposed criminality. Others were, at different times, sacrificed to his revenge, on the same pretence of incendiary guilt.<sup>2</sup>

The conflagration spread with such rapidity in a town where the majority of the houses were built of combustible materials, that it was not extinguished before five days had elapsed from the first eruption of the devouring flames. During that time, numerous violations of decorum and of chastity, and many acts of rapine and murder, were perpetrated by the profligate followers of the Corsican adventurer. They chased their victims even through the flames, pursuing them with demoniac malice. If the new occupant of the Kremlin had any compunction or remorse, what must have been his feelings at the view of this scene of misery?

Bonaparte at length became sensible of the expediency of repressing these outrages. He formed a municipal body, at the head of which he placed Lesseps, who had acted at Petersburg as consul-general of France: but the exertions of the new magistrates were feeble and ineffectual. With a view of enforcing obedience, he ordered some of his most licentious soldiers to be shot; an act of justice, which encouraged many

1 It is asserted by Bonaparte's military writer, that 30,000 sick and wounded Russians lost their lives by their inability of escaping from the flames. Undoubtedly, there were many victims of this description; but all who could bear the fatigue of removal, had been conveyed to other towns before the French entered Moscow, the stated number far exceeds the truth.

2 One hundred of the citizens were shot upon this charge, according to the twentieth French bulletin; and 300 incendiaries are subsequently mentioned, as objects of the same species of summary vengeance.

of the inhabitants to emerge from their cellars and other places of concealment. In these cellars, and in the houses which were not destroyed, seasonable supplies were found, but not in that abundance which was sufficient for the wants of his men, who began to complain of hunger, and of the absence of those comforts which they had a right to expect after their fatigues and dangers.

It now became the duty and consequent study of the Russian commander to obstruct the conveyance of supplies to the enemy, and to enforce either a surrender or a retreat. Having been considerably reinforced, he made such prudent dispositions, as to subject the captors of Moscow, if not to a total, at least to a distressing blockade. For many days, the French were not aware of the approach of their adversaries. Alarmed at this sudden re-appearance, and feeling the miseries of privation, they lamented the incautious advance of their leader, and called for peace, as the only remedy for their misfortunes. For his own sake, he listened to the general voice, and sent Lauriston to propose a negotiation. Kutusoff, with the spirit of an ancient Roman, replied, that neither the emperor nor the nation would condescend to treat, while a single foreign soldier remained within the wide extent of the Russian dominions. Bonaparte affected to impute this answer to the unauthorised arrogance of the commander in chief, and assured the complaining soldiers that Alexander would disavow this rejection, and open a treaty. A second application produced a similar reply; and Kutusoff refused even to forward a letter from Napoleon to his imperial majesty. This contemptuous treatment provoked the wrath of the invader, who found, however, that his fits of passion were useless, even if they did not appear to him to be disgraceful. He tried the effect of another appeal to the humanity or the policy of Kutusoff; and, requesting an armistice, offered the restitution of Moscow, and promised to retire to Wiasma, where, he said, a negotiation might commence. The general coolly expressed his surprise at such a proposal, declaring it to be particularly unseasonable, when the campaign, on his part, was merely on the point of opening. Enraged at this treatment, Bonaparte resolved, before he quitted Moscow, to complete the devastation which, he thought, the Russians had not carried to a sufficient extent. By his order, large parties from the camp joined the soldiers who were quartered in the town, seized all the remains of spoil which they could find after a diligent search, and set fire to those parts of the city which had escaped the former conflagra-



tion.<sup>3</sup> But the latter part of the order was not executed before the increasing danger of his situation suggested the expediency of a speedy retreat.

After the occasional interception of supplies, and the frequent defeats of detachments, the Russians prepared to dislodge the enemy from Moscow. Murat, having ventured out of the camp with a considerable force, was attacked by general Bennigsen, and put to flight; and this disgrace concurred with other instances of ill success to hasten the retreat of the invaders. Mines had been formed for the destruction of the Kremlin; and, when almost the whole army had retired from the city and neighbourhood, a band of resolute men sprang one of the mines; but before another explosion could operate, major-general Iloviaskoi advanced with a small force, saved the fortress from demolition, and recovered the miserable remains of the city. Oct. 22.

In other scenes of action, success attended the operations of the Russian patriots. General Essen, who had long defended Riga against the Prussians, dislodged them from the capital of Courland; and count Witgenstein, after an obstinate conflict with St. Cyr, took Polotsk by assault. He then advanced to meet the army returning from Moldavia, with which Tormosoff had united his force:—a junction so alarming to Regnier and the prince of Schwartzenberg, that they rapidly retired, not without a great loss of men and stores.

The retreat of the grand army was truly disastrous, even before winter diffused its horrors. Wretchedly clothed, harassed by hunger, oppressed by dejection, and pursued by an intrepid and vigilant, an insulted and outraged enemy, the soldiers prosecuted their fugitive course. Many died, in their melancholy progress, of fatigue and famine: others were sacrificed to hostile resentment. At Malo-Jaroslaw, a conflict arose in which they so far roused themselves to exertion, that they slew many of their pursuers, and re-took the town several times after they had lost it. On another occasion they repelled a body of Cossacks; but they were unable to make an effectual impression upon any of the assailing parties. When the frosty weather commenced, their miseries were aggravated by a severity of cold, which their languid frames were not fit-

<sup>3</sup> Lord Cathcart speaks of the burning of this city, as if it had been, in the first instance, an act of the enemy. He says (in a letter dated on the 3d of October,) "the French have burned the greater part of Moscow, which they found stripped and evacuated by most of its inhabitants." But it is no longer doubted, that it was an act of the Russians, whose example was followed by the retreating French.

ted to sustain. Near the high road, the scenes of distress were shocking to the eye of sensibility : but a recollection of the profligacy and cruelty of the sufferers tended to check the emotions of sympathy.

The fugitives stopped near Wiasma, and did not refuse the challenge to an engagement. They opposed general Miloradowitz with an air of desperation, but were quickly routed. About 6000 of their number were either killed on the spot, or left wounded on the field : the latter, indeed, may be supposed to have soon perished from neglect, exhaustion, and cold, as the ensuing night covered the country with a great depth of snow. At Dorogobouche, the remains of the division of Beauharnois were attacked by Platoff, who turned their right and left, and routed their centre. He overtook the fugitives on the following day ; and, in the two actions he captured above 3000 men, after 1500 of their companions had been killed or wounded. He pursued the rest to the city of Smolensk ; and during the chase, those whom he did not cut off fled to the woods, where they perished in the snow.

While the baffled invaders were thus hastening to Smolensk, a body of their countrymen and associates, under three officers of distinction, had marched from that city to reinforce the grand army, of whose retreat no intelligence had then arrived. They were proceeding in three divisions in the direction of Kalouga ; but this *detour* did not save them from discovery. One of these parties escaped : the second suffered a ruinous attack ; and, out of 3000 men, who composed the third, scarcely an individual escaped death or captivity. About 4000 men were soon after made prisoners, near Smolensk. Bonaparte, however, safely reached that town, and would have long remained in it, if the altered state of affairs (to use the language of his secretary) had not subjected him to the hard necessity of putting himself speedily in motion, amidst all the rigors of the season. When he had left the city, he sent orders for the destruction of the fortifications, and of every part of his *apparatus* that might be useful to his adversaries. Davoust superintended the execution of this mandate ; and the town again became a scene of conflagration.

The eagerness of the Russians to overtake their malignant enemy portended a collision more serious and important than any of the recent conflicts. While he was at Krasnoi, expecting the arrival of Davoust with all the trepidation of anxiety, Nov. 17. he was alarmed with the sound of artillery. The marshal was suddenly attacked in the rear by Miloradow-

witz, and on the left flank by prince Gallitzin. Dreading an encompassment, he made all the dispositions for defence that the time and circumstances would allow : but his arrangements were necessarily imperfect. Yet his intrepidity did not forsake him ; and he contended for safety to the close of day. His less courageous master, as soon as he found reason to conclude that victory could not be expected, fled from the scene of peril. About 4000 men were left on the field, dead, dying, or disabled ; and 9200 became prisoners. Ney's division, on the following day, encountered equal danger, and faced it with equal resolution. Not having the least suspicion of the proximity of any considerable body of Russians, (for, as the death of the horses for want of forage had reduced the cavalry to the condition of foot soldiers, he had no opportunity of reconnoitring,) he advanced amidst a thick fog, and approached a range of batteries, which commanded the road to Krasnoi. His men fell in heaps, from the fire of the artillery ; and his flanks and rear were soon after assaulted, by the troops of Miloradowitz, with impetuosity and vigor. He resisted as long as he could influence the exertions of the soldiers, and at length retired with a small number into the woods near the Neiper. To the number of captives, 11,000 were added by this victory ; which was attended, as well as the former, with an inconsiderable loss on the part of the Russians.<sup>4</sup>

The continued success of Witgenstein reflected equal honour on his military talents. Being particularly desirous of preventing marshal Victor from joining the main army, he attacked him on the banks of the Oula, and dislodged him from Chasniki ; and, in a well-contested battle near Smolyna, he baffled the views and hopes of his brave opponent. He opened a communication with the principal army ; and, learning from Chernicheff (whose adventurous journey through a hostile country has received the praise due to romantic courage and extraordinary address,) that admiral Chichagoff was approaching Minsk with the troops which had acquired experience and reputation in the war with the Turks, he advanced to a junction, and soon found an opportunity of acquiring new laurels.

When Bonaparte had reached the Nieper, he flattered himself with the hope of being rejoined by the divisions of Victor, Oudinot, and Dombrowski, by whose aid he hoped to present

<sup>4</sup> London Gazette Extraordinary of December 16.—Porter's Narrative of the Campaign in Russia.

a firm front to his pursuers. He amused his troops with the prospect of a speedy return to Poland, where they would again be gratified with comfort and abundance. But, when he arrived at Orcha, he found that his stores at Minsk had been seized by Chichagoff, and that Dombrowski had been driven from Borisoff, with the loss of many of his men by the sword and in the stream of the Berezina, and the capture of 4000. It was fortunate for him, that the chief Russian army had discontinued the pursuit after the two battles near Krasnoi, to give time for the arrival of provisions. He took advantage of this delay, and hastened toward the river, regardless of the fate of his followers. He had a narrow escape; for he had scarcely retired from Orcha, when it was entered by a body of Cossacks, whose leader Ogerowski hoped to sieze the flagitious author of all the miseries of this dreadful campaign.

After a course of havock and capture, Platoff made an eager search for marshal Ney, who had crossed the Nieper, and added a number of stragglers to the remains of his *corps*. He surprised these fatigued and nearly exhausted fugitives, and easily routed them, but could not secure the person of their commander. Proceeding toward Borisoff, he prepared to co-operate with count Witgenstein, whose present object was the obstruction of Bonaparte's escape over the Berezina, while Victor and Oudinot resolved to exert their utmost efforts for the rescue of their master from the danger which threatened him. The count detached general Vlastoff to impede the movements of the enemy, and hastened to the spot where Napoleon was superintending the construction of a temporary bridge. In his way, he defeated Victor's division, destroying many and capturing a much greater number. A bridge had been completed near Vesselovo; and, having sent a part of the imperial guard over it to prevent immediate molestation, the fugitive chief crossed with a select train. Another bridge had been formed with equal rapidity; and, at both, the French crossed with the most disorderly precipitation. During two days, they continued to pass; and, in that time, it is supposed that above 8000 men were killed or drowned. Long before all had passed, the bridges were set on fire, by the order of Napoleon, for the security of those who had crossed them. Many rushed forward amidst the flames with desperate fury, until the erections became an useless mockery. Above 12,000 men were then made prisoners.

The army under Chichagoff at length appeared, and fiercely assaulted the wreck of the fugitive host. While the conflict

was raging, Bonaparte, leaving the generals and his soldiers to their fate, pusillanimously fled from the field, and directed his rapid course to Wilna. Notwithstanding this base desertion, the French continued to resist for several hours, and thus gave their betrayer an opportunity of reaching a place of safety. They then fled in disorderly bands, lamenting their miserable fate.

To promote the security of the fugitives, Maret sent 10,000 men under general Loison, who had arrived in Lithuania from Koningsberg; but the intended relief was nugatory; for the fresh corps could not so effectually defend itself, either against hostile assaults or the effects of the intense cold, as to be able to assist or support the unfortunate remains of the invading army. The minister, and the public, long remained without receiving any intelligence of Napoleon's fate: but it was ascertained in the sequel, that when he had reached Smorgoni, he assumed a disguise, threw himself into a sledge with Caulincourt, stopped for a few minutes to converse with Maret at Wilna, and reached Warsaw in safety, regretting only the frustration of his schemes, instead of execrating his profligate ambition, which had diffused misery over Europe.

When the first party of pursuers approached Wilna, they overtook and quickly routed a body of cavalry, but could not immediately gain possession of the town, which was filled with infantry. On the arrival of a considerable force, the suburbs were seized; and such dispositions were made, as prevented the enemy from retaining the city, or profiting by its valuable magazines. Here the Russians captured a multitude of their panic-stricken adversaries, and rested from their fatigues, while the French and their associates fled toward the Pregel and the Niemen. When the pursuit was renewed by Wittgenstein and Platoff, many more of the fugitives were sacrificed to the just vengeance of the Russians, and great additions were made, particularly at Kowna, to the number of prisoners. Thus harrassed, only wretched fragments of the great army which the oppressor of Europe had led into the north, remained to support his cause at the close of this eventful year.<sup>5</sup>

The ruin of this mighty host reminded the classical reader of the result of an expedition to Ethiopia, undertaken by Cambyzes, the son of Cyrus. Both enterprises were as rash as they were unjust; and each accelerated the ruin of its projec-

<sup>5</sup> It is said that not more than 30,000, exclusive of the Austrians, repassed the Niemen. The loss by death, during the whole campaign, was calculated at 150,000; and an official estimate of prisoners swelled the number to 167,500.



tor. In deserting his army, the baseness of the Corsican resembled that of Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily, with whom he may also be compared for callosity of heart and cruelty of disposition. He ought to have considered that the men who had fought under his standard had no real interest in his ambitious pursuits, and no ground of quarrel with the Russians; and that, when he had wantonly involved them in danger, he was bound by honour and duty to share their fate.

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## LETTER XXI.

### *View of the Disputes and Hostilities between Great Britain and the United States.*

WHEN great nations are so immersed in war, as to prosecute it with determined zeal and rancorous animosity, the less powerful states generally suffer by the collision. Thus the powers which were desirous of remaining neutral, were exposed to serious inconvenience and afflictive losses, during the contest between Great Britain and France. The subjects of the United States, in particular, who enjoyed an extensive commerce as carriers of the produce of France and other countries, felt the ill effects of the clashing decrees of the belligerent powers.

A. D. 1811. The contending courts were equally unwilling to yield. Each promised to repeal the offensive ordinances, as soon as the other would enter into a similar engagement: but, for a long time they could not settle from which party the concession should begin. Each declared a readiness to follow; but neither appeared to be desirous of leading the way. It was pretended by the Americans, that the ruler of France had revoked his anti-neutral decrees; and they therefore claimed a repeal of the orders of council; but, as Mr. Pinkney could not convince the British ministers of the validity of his assertion, he took leave of the court, lament-

ing the total failure of his efforts to adjust the "embarrassed and disjointed relations of the two countries."

Acting under the supposition of the alleged repeal of the edicts of Berlin and Milan, the American president permitted the entrance of French ships into the ports of the republic, but continued to exclude those which belonged to British subjects. His disgust at the conduct of our government was aggravated by the report which he received from the commander of a frigate, who accused the captain of a British sloop of aggressive hostilities, perpetrated near the coast of Virginia. When the accounts given by rival officers are diametrically opposite, each imputing the first fire to the other, it is difficult to ascertain the truth; but, from the great superiority of the American ship, the unallayed resentment of the attack upon the Chesapeake frigate, and the eagerness of commodore Rogers to commence a chase, it is more probable that he was the aggressor, than that captain Bingham ordered the first act of hostility.

Mr. Foster, the new envoy to the United States, offered an apology and compensation for the affair of the Chesapeake: but the dispute respecting the late action was not amicably adjusted, and the conferences between him and Mr. Monroe were unproductive of a reconciliation. The republican minister condemned that extravagant system of blockade which preceded the orders of council, extending far beyond the comprehensive means even of the whole British navy; and controverted the idea of retaliation, alleged as an excuse for decrees which harrassed neutrals, against whom no ground of charge existed. Mr. Foster vindicated the conduct of his court, rather by alluding to the extraordinary state of affairs, and to the irregular proceedings of the enemy, which required vigorous counteraction, than by positively justifying the obnoxious orders.

When the congress re-assembled, the committee, to which foreign affairs were referred, entered into all the feelings of the president. After observing that the United States had a full right to use the ocean, "for the purpose of transporting, in their own vessels, the produce of their own soil, and the acquisitions of their industry, to a market in the ports of friendly nations," the writers of the report declared, that the people could not remain passive under the accumulated injuries inflicted by Great Britain. As their ships were unjustly seized, and their seamen enslaved, it was proper that the states should be "put into an armour and attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the national spirit and expectations." Ma-

ny of the representatives opposed the intended augmentation of the national force : but it was sanctioned by a very considerable majority.

A prejudiced statement of the operations of a British agent, who had been sent into some of the American provinces to procure intelligence of the state of affairs, tended to irritate the friends of the government, and to promote that desire of war which had already been propagated through the republic. Captain Henry was accused of having studiously fomented disaffection ; and it was acrimoniously asserted, that the object of his mission was the artful and treacherous separation of the component parts of the union. This pretended discovery had a great effect, as a prologue to the opening tragedy.

The professions, promises, and expostulations of Mr. Foster did not allay the preparations for hostility. If the British court had repealed the offensive orders about two months sooner, the war might perhaps have been avoided ; but, as that revocation was not then expected, the prevailing irritation was not suffered to subside ; and, when the violent declaration had once passed, a sudden recal of the measure seemed, to inflamed minds, to be capricious and inconsistent.

A message from the president, tracing the conduct of Great Britain towards the United States from the year June 1, 1812. 1803, represented it under the continued form of encroachment and aggression. He compared the seizure of supposed British seamen in American vessels, on the " great highway of nations," to that " substitution of force for a resort to the responsible sovereign, which falls within the definition of war." He affirmed, that, under this pretext, thousands of American citizens had been torn from their country, and subjected to the most severe oppressions ; and that all proposals of fair arrangements had been imperiously rejected, or contemptuously eluded. The commerce of the United States, whether entering or departing, had been wantonly harrassed ; and the most insulting pretensions had been accompanied with lawless proceedings even within harbours ; and, not content with this devastation of neutral trade, the British cabinet had at length resorted to the " sweeping system of blockades," under the name of orders in council,—an innovation pregnant with complicated and transcendent injustice. It was indeed sufficiently evident, that the American trade was to be sacrificed, not because it encroached on the rights of a belligerent power, or supplied the wants of an enemy of that power, but because it interfered with a rapacious desire of monopoly. When a

minister plenipotentiary proposed an adjustment of disputes, his scheme of accommodation was disavowed. A secret agent was even employed in intrigues, tending to the subversion of the established government; and there was reason to believe, that emissaries had been tutored to instigate the savages to war. "Such, (said the irritated republican, without a strict regard to truth) is the spectacle of injuries and indignities which have been heaped on our country; and such is the crisis which its unexampled forbearance and conciliatory efforts have not been able to avert." This aspect of affairs left a solemn alternative to the consideration of the legislature. He would not anticipate the decision; but he was convinced that it would be fully consistent with the character of a "virtuous, free, and powerful nation."

This message was too important in its nature and consequences to be adopted without a warm debate. The president's inclinations were well known; and, however impartial he might wish to seem, a pacific decision was not that result which would gratify his feelings. But Mr. Randolph and other independent members, without regarding his opinion, pronounced the war to be as inexpedient as it was unjust; denied that any reasonable hopes of attaining by arms the alleged object of the war, could be entertained; and represented the exhausted state of the treasury as an additional reason for the preservation of peace. These arguments were wholly unavailing; and the animated discussion terminated in an act, importing, that war should be declared to exist between Great Britain and the United States; and that the president was authorised by the legislature to use the whole force of the republic, "to carry the same into effect." Mr. Madison authenticated the act by his approbation and signature; and June 18. letters of marque were granted without delay to private armed vessels.

An expedition to Canada excited the hopes of the friends of war, who probably expected, from occasional reports of popular discontent, that many of the provincials would be ready to join the invaders. Brigadier Hull was employed in this service; and, having assembled about 2300 men, he "passed into the territory of the enemy (says the president) with a prospect of an easy and victorious progress." He advanced to Sandwich, and ravaged the country in his way to the Canard; but in three attempts to cross that river, he was repelled with loss. Major-general Brock could only collect 730 men for the immediate defence of the province: but, when the fort of Michi-

limachinac had been taken, the savages, who had for some time been at war with the United States, were so animated and encouraged, that 600 of them requested permission to serve with the British and Canadian troops. Such auxiliaries disgraced the warriors whom they joined: yet it is affirmed, that in this campaign they submitted to the restraints of discipline, and even treated their prisoners with humanity. With this force Brock marched to Amherstburg, which he rescued from the dangers of a siege. Dreading the hostilities of the barbarians, Hull retreated to Fort Detroit; and when the British commander made preparations for an assault, the

Aug. 16. dispirited republican surrendered himself and his whole force to captivity; and a cession of the Michigan territory accompanied the unexpected submission.

A second invasion of Canada was not more fortunate. Wadsworth marched with a body of regulars and militia to the Niagara river, and assaulted Queen's town. Major-general Brock, who hastened to the scene of danger, lost his life while he was encouraging the garrison to a spirited resistance. The fall of a gallant and able officer discouraged the defenders, who immediately yielded the position: but, when major-general Sheaffe had arrived with a small force, he quickly defeated the Americans; above 900 of whom, with their commander, became prisoners.

The maritime engagements were less favourable to the British arms; for, although the navy of the United States consisted of only nine frigates, eight sloops, brigs, and schooners, a hundred and seventy gun-boats, and four bomb vessels, while that of Great Britain comprehended four hundred and thirty-nine ships of the line and frigates, beside a multitude of vessels of inferior rate, the Americans were frequently successful in actions with single ships. Their frigates were built on a much larger scale than British vessels of the same denomination: in weight of metal, and in the amount of seamen, they were nearly equal to our ships of the line; and it may be added, not only that many of the men were natives of Britain or Ireland, but that, from the small number of the national fleet, it was far less difficult to fill the ships with experienced seamen than for the English navy to provide a complement proportioned to its uncommon extent. The *Guerriere* was so severely treated, in an engagement with the *Constitution*, from the causes which have been stated, that it became an "unmanageable wreck;" and the killed and wounded almost quadrupled the number of the republicans who suffered from the col-



lison. A contest, between the Macedonian and a frigate called the United States, had a similar termination, and the attendant loss was much greater. The Java was also captured, with a considerable loss of its brave defenders.

Soon after the declaration of war, the president, not then knowing that the orders of council had been revoked, proposed to the prince regent, that they should be repealed without a revival of the extensive and unjustifiable system of blockade; that all the American seamen should be immediately discharged from the British ships, and the practice of impressment be suspended during the negotiation. In answer to these propositions, it was intimated, that no other blockade would be enforced than that which was regular and legitimate; that, when this species of hostility was duly notified, and supported by an adequate force, it could not properly be arraigned as illegal on account of its extent, or because the blockaded ports or coasts were not at the same time invested by land; and that a suspension of the right of seizing British seamen, when found in neutral mercantile vessels, might furnish an opposing power with a pretence for alleging, that the late asserters of the claim were not unwilling to admit the irregularity of the practice.<sup>1</sup>

Overtures for an armistice were subsequently made both by the Canadian government, and by sir John Borlase Warren, who commanded a fleet in the North American station; but the subject of impressment formed the chief obstacle to a negotiation. Mr. Monroe merely stated the probability of the enactment of a law to prohibit the admission of British seamen into the service of the United States: yet no pledge to this effect was given; nor could it be supposed that the minister would acknowledge the facility, allowed by the government, of establishing a claim to the privileges of an American citizen, so as to evade the demands of a foreign power. Pretended certificates of that import were purchased for a small sum; and, as it was particularly ordered, by the lords of the admiralty, that persons who had procured these ostensible documents should not be impressed, unless there were strong reasons for concluding that they had previously been British subjects, it was not expected that a promise of redress would preclude a frequency of evasion.

As all governments boldly vindicate the wars in which they engage, Mr. Madison, in the message with which the congress

<sup>1</sup> Declaration of the British Court, January 9, 1813.

Nov. 4. was opened, boasted that the American people had "the inestimable consolation" of knowing, that the war did not arise from "ambition or vain glory;" that it was waged, "not in violation of the rights of others, but in the maintenance of their own;" and that it was preceded by a "patience without example, under wrongs accumulating without end." With regard to the negotiation, he had such faint hopes of a conciliatory disposition on the part of the British ministers, that he thought it would be unwise to suspend or relax the preparations for war.

The correspondence between the hostile governments being submitted to the consideration of the parliament, the American A. D. 1813. pretensions were deemed, by the majority, unreasonable and offensive. It was inferred, from the conduct of the president, that he, and the leading members of the congress, did not wish for peace. Mr. Foster affirmed, that it had for many years been the policy of the republican rulers to cherish and prolong disputes, with a view of irritating the people against this country. Mr. Whitbread was disposed to vindicate the American government from the charge of intemperate animosity, and was of opinion that the war might have been avoided by a less arrogant exercise of our supposed maritime rights. Mr. Canning accused the Americans of an unyielding spirit of hostility, and lamented the feeble prosecution of that war which they had provoked. Each house voted an address, recommending a vigorous war, if a treaty could not be adjusted without impolitic concessions.

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## LETTER XXII.

*A Sketch of Public Affairs, in Great Britain and France.*

A. D. 1812. WHEN the prince regent opened the first session of a new parliament, he congratulated the members on that improvement of the national prospects, which had taken place in the course of the year. He panegyricised the

skill and judgment with which the marquis of Wellington had conducted his operations in the peninsula; boasted of the "ever memorable victory" obtained at Salamanca; and, while he acknowledged that some recent incidents exhibited a less favourable aspect, expressed his conviction that "these efforts of the enemy had been attended with important sacrifices on their part, which must materially contribute to extend the resources and facilitate the exertions of the Spanish nation." As this contest had first given to the continent of Europe the "example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France," and as not only the independence of Spain and Portugal, but the essential interests of his majesty's dominions, were connected with its fortunate termination, he had no doubt of the continuance of a general and strong inclination to promote such an interesting cause. He stated with pleasure, that the relations of peace and amity had been restored between Great Britain and the Russian and Swedish courts; and, adverting to the formidable combination of the French and their numerous allies or dependants for the ruin of the northern emperor, he rejoiced at the signal disappointment of their presumptuous expectations. Admiring that enthusiasm which had increased with the difficulties of the contest, and that self-denial which had submitted to sacrifices almost unexampled in the history of the world, he indulged the confident hope that the perseverance of his magnanimous friend would be crowned with ultimate success. He then mentioned his new arrangements with the king of Sicily, intimating that it had been his object to provide for the more extensive application of the military force of that prince to the purposes of offensive hostility. On the subject of his disagreement with the North American states, he could not speak so satisfactorily as he wished. He had flattered himself with the expectation, derived from the nature and circumstances of the dispute, that the interruption of amicable intercourse would not be protracted: but he found, with sincere regret, that the conduct and pretensions of the republic opposed the speedy restoration of peace.

The early debates of the session were not particularly marked by the vehemence of opposition. Objections were made by the marquis Wellésley to the limited scale on which the war was prosecuted in Spain, and to that impolicey which neglected the due support of the views and schemes of his illustrious brother: but the minister declared, that all the proposals and requisitions of that commander had been adopted, and that every exertion, not incompatible with a due attention to the

other branches of the war, had been made against the invaders of Spain. Mr. Whitbread, the determined and conscientious advocate of peace, proposed an immediate negotiation; but he did not call for a division, as the current seemed to run so strongly in favour of war.

A benevolent consideration of the severe distress to which a great number of the subjects of Russia were exposed, by the conflagration of Moscow and other towns, and by the ravages which both friends and foes had inflicted upon the country, prompted the prince to recommend to the two houses the expediency of effective relief. The opulent Russians, and even many who were comparatively poor, had already commenced a subscription for that laudable purpose: the higher and middle classes in Great Britain followed the example; and the parliament voted 200,000 pounds for the alleviation of that poverty and misery which the zeal of patriotism had produced. As the French war against Russia was unprovoked and iniquitous, unanimity might have been expected when this donation was proposed: but Mr. Whitbread and sir Francis Burdet, with that illiberality which too frequently attends a spirit of party, opposed the grant as particularly unseasonable, when distress, in consequence of the war, was keenly felt at home. Both these orators pretended, that the sum was too small to be extensively beneficial; yet, if a larger grant had been requested, they would, in all probability, have complained of its magnitude, because they evidently wished that nothing should be given.

The incidents of war and politics were diversified by an introduction of the concerns of a lady of high rank into parliamentary discussion. In a chronicle of scandal, or a work devoted to the foibles, follies, and vices, of fashionable life, the disagreement between the regent and his princess would form a fruitful topic of remark and stricture; but, in a general history of Europe, it does not require a length of detail. The lady who had been *recommended* to the prince, not *selected* by him, was born and educated in a country, where the manners of females are not tinctured with extreme delicacy,—where, on the contrary, their demeanor is masculine, their deportment forward and bold, and their conversation free and unreserved. It may be said, that the manners of women of rank and fashion in England are so far removed from the modesty of the middle class, as to border upon the freedom of the German ladies; but there is still a considerable shade of difference. It was not, however, any disgust at the behaviour of the princess, that produced, in

the first instance, a disunion between her and the prince : he appears to have conceived a personal dislike, which prompted him to wish for a separation.<sup>1</sup> Thus thrown back into a state of "single blessedness," deprived of a husband's protection and advice, she suffered the strictness of decorum to be relaxed by levity, and indulged in that dissipation which is so prevalent in the higher circles. For many years, her conduct, although it could not escape observation, did not so far excite deliberate attention as to subject her to the severity of general animadversion : but particular circumstances occasionally transpired, which led to investigation and scrutiny.

Reports of extraordinary freedom of behaviour, and even of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, reached the ears of her husband ; and not only the voice of rumour aspersed her character, but written declarations, containing charges of criminality, were presented to his royal highness. Lord Thurlow advised an immediate inquiry into the foundation on which these particulars rested ; and the king commissioned the lord chancellor Erskine and three other peers to investigate the important affair. The dispositions taken on this occasion implicated the princess in such charges as would have led, if they could have been verified, into the most unfavourable conclusions. If the testimony of lady Douglas should be thought deserving of credit, not only an abandonment of all sense of shame in her conversation and remarks, but the pollutions of actual criminality, must be imputed to the exalted personage.<sup>2</sup> But there is not sufficient reason to believe any other part of this lady's evidence, than that which relates to levity of behaviour and to an occasional want of delicacy in familiar discourse. It is very improbable that even the most imprudent woman would have made such confessions as are alleged. By another deponent, the princess is said to have gratified a naval officer with "a very close kiss :—" but this act of familiarity was not positively seen, being stated to be reflected from a mirror ; and not only is the assertion denied in the most peremptory terms by the supposed gallant, but it has been declared that the room had not a mirror among its furniture.

<sup>1</sup> In a letter written in the year 1796, he said, "Our inclinations are not in our power ; nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other." As he did not pretend to assign a reason for his want of affection, he might have said, in the language of Martial, *Non amo te, — nec possum dicere quare.*

<sup>2</sup> Report of the commissioners, July 14, 1806.



She was certainly too fond of male society; and, when gentlemen were at her table or in her company, she neglected the conversation of her own sex. Whether she preferred that of men as more *rational*, does not appear; but she evidently found it more *agreeable*.

When the delegated peers had terminated the enquiry, the recorded result was far from being so exculpatory as the friends of the princess wished, and, at the same time, was not so unfavourable as, in the prince's opinion, it ought to have been; for when the ministers<sup>3</sup> faintly recommended to his majesty the admission of his daughter-in-law into his presence, her husband requested a delay, until he should have submitted the evidence to the consideration of his legal advisers. The four lords declared, that they had no reason to believe the princess guilty of that adulterous commerce which had been imputed to her; but they could not refrain from intimating, that some of the circumstances of indecorous behaviour, stated in the evidence, "must be credited until they should receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, were justly entitled to the most serious consideration." When new ministers swayed the cabinet, they were ordered to examine the whole process of the dispute; and their decision not only acquitted the princess of the charge of adultery, but denied the credibility, and consequently repelled the effect of the other particulars alleged against her. They also deemed it "essentially necessary, in justice to her royal highness, and for the honour and interest of his majesty's illustrious family," that she should be admitted without delay into the presence of the sovereign, and received in a manner due to her rank and station.<sup>4</sup>

As the prince affected to apprehend that the morals or the politics of his daughter might receive a sinister bias from the conversation and advice of her mother, they were only allowed to enjoy the occasional gratification of a mutual visit. Shocked at a treatment which seemed harsh and illiberal, the princess did not tamely submit to this restriction of her natural Jan. 14. 1813. rights and her legitimate influence. She addressed a letter to the regent, complaining of the injury offered to her character, demanding (if suspicions yet remained) a full investigation of her conduct, remonstrating against the unnatural separation of a child from her mother, and condemning, as injudicious and impolitic, the exclusion

<sup>3</sup> Earl Grey, lord Grenville, and their associates,  
<sup>4</sup> Minute of council, April 22, 1807.

of a future sovereign from all intercourse with the world. This epistle was read, and returned : it was again sent, and treated with the same mark of contempt. In such a case, expostulation was useless ; and an appeal was therefore made to the public by the indignation of a deserted wife.<sup>5</sup>

The appearance of this letter in a daily print, so displeased the court, that an intended visit from the princess Charlotte was countermanded. A strong impression was made upon the public feelings by the complaint ; and a general sympathy seemed to prevail. After frequent consultations with the ministers, the prince resolved to institute a new inquiry. He desired the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the chief ministers, and some of the judges, to examine the documents connected with the former investigation, to deliberate upon the letter of the princess, and state their opinion, whether the intercourse between her and her daughter might properly "continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions." On this point, an affirmative answer was given ; and, as the perjuries of *suborned traducers* had been pointedly mentioned by the complainant, it was declared, without a dissentient voice, that the documents afforded the most ample proof of the falsity of such an aspersion.

The treatment which the princess had received more particularly disgusted the middle and inferior classes of the community ; and respectful addresses were voted to her by the common council of London, by the livery men, and by some of the provincial corporations. Her adversaries were accused of having basely conspired against her honour and life : and insinuations, not the most decorous, were thrown out against an elevated personage by the freedom of public indignation. This subject was repeatedly brought forward in the house of commons ; but the majority, when a letter had been sent by the princess to the speaker, requesting a full investigation of her conduct, rejected a motion for a regular enquiry.

The claims of the catholics were again debated in this session. As the ministry had promised to leave the question to the uninfluenced decision of the parliament,—as the king's sentiments on the subject no longer formed a powerful or in-

<sup>5</sup> There was in the letter one topic of complaint, which excited ridicule rather than sympathy. The princess lamented, that her daughter had never yet enjoyed the benefit of *confirmation* ; but it appears that the ceremony was postponed to a certain age in consequence of the declared will of his majesty ; and even the most pious and orthodox protestants would not be alarmed at the omission of a ceremony which is not deemed a sacrament in our church.

surmountable obstacle to the grant of the desired rights or indulgences,—as the prince regent was supposed to be not unfriendly to the asserted claims,—and as a great number of senators, of all parties, were willing to promote, by acquiescence, religious union and harmony,—it was expected by a considerable part of the nation, that all the remaining disabilities of the complaining sect would be finally removed: yet there were many who entertained strong doubts of the success of a renewed application, and who were decidedly of opinion, that the two houses were bound to reject it.

The important question was fully discussed, but with little novelty of remark; and it was voted, by a majority of forty, that the claims should be referred to the consideration of a committee. Mr. Grattan then moved, that the civil and military disqualifications under which the catholics laboured should be removed, with such exceptions and regulations as might be deemed necessary for the security of the protestant succession and of the established church. The speaker of the house, Mr. Abbot, protested against the hazardous grant, without precisely knowing what securities would be offered: but the majority agreed to the proposition, and a bill was introduced for its accomplishment. Sir John Cox Hippesley expressed his wish, that various enquiries might be instituted, before the bill should be permitted to take effect. It was expedient, he thought to examine the state and number of the catholic clergy, the nature of their intercourse with the see of Rome, the regulations respecting the appointment of prelates, and the opinions which were entertained of oaths and tests enforced by the rules of the state, and to investigate other particulars, with a view to such an illustration of the subject, as might determine the question of security; but this motion was rejected as an act of insidious hostility; and a more open attack from Dr. Duigenan was also exploded. The bill invested the king with the right of disallowing an episcopal nomination, and of opposing the reception of a bull, brief, or other instrument, sent by the pope, unless it should be pronounced unobjectionable by a council, consisting of distinguished catholics and protestants: It imposed an oath of the most comprehensive kind; and, having thus secured submission and loyalty, gave right of sitting and voting in parliament, and of holding every office except the chancellorship of Great Britain and the viceroyalty of Ireland. But the conscientious protestants in the house were so dissatisfied with the proposed securities, that, when a motion was made by Mr. Abbot, and strongly

supported by sir John Nicholl, for the continued exclusion of catholics from the two houses of parliament; a majority of four assented to it; and the bill was then abandoned by its advocates, as imperfect and nugatory.

The demand of a new charter for the India company furnished the advocates of a free trade with an opportunity of asserting their claims by an application to the parliament. Alarmed at this encroachment upon supposed rights and established interests, the directors held many conferences with the ministers, and earnestly solicited a continuance of their support. They alleged that, as the territories belonged to the company, political functions were a necessary appendage to such possession; that the due exercise of these functions depended on the preservation of those commercial privileges which had long been connected with the administrative power; that the new scheme, by runing the trade of the company, would lead to its political dissolution, and thus deprive the country of many advantages, which were "much too valuable to be sacrificed for the trifling reduction in the freight of Indian goods to Europe; that the trade to which the innovators objected had ceased, in consequence of former arrangements, to bear the character of a strict monopoly; that the pretence of augmenting the exports by the use of private capital, beyond that which the chartered society could employ, would be found inapplicable, as it was a well-supported opinion, that no large or sudden addition could be made to the amount of merchandise sent either to India or China; that to open the out-ports to the import trade, would be a ruinous transfer of it into new channels, tending to the destruction of immense establishments; and that a general intercourse of Europeans with our Indian empire might prove extremely injurious, in consequence of that unlimited competition of commercial agents, which, operating under the peculiar circumstances of the country, would produce a boundless scene of confusion and fraud. These and other statements, arguments, and remarks, although they did not make that complete impression which the directors wished to propagate, had some effect in diminishing the intended latitude of concession to the public. After a long examination of witnesses, whose evidence exhibited a full view of the concerns of the company, lord Castlereagh moved for the adoption of the ministerial arrangements, which allowed to that corporation the continuance of an exclusive right to the Chinese trade, for the term of twenty years, but opened the other branches to private merchants, to whom the directors were

required to grant licenses. A spirit of religion, on this occasion, was associated with a regard to commercial objects; and, by the act of regulation, a bishop and three archdeacons were appointed, and encouraged by liberal salaries to extend the influence of christianity.

An attempt was made by a popular baronet to procure a settlement of the regency, in the event of the prince's death during the king's incapacity. His object, he said, was to prevent that irregular assumption of authority, which had, on two occasions, marked the proceedings of the parliament. His arguments were plausible; but he could not convince the house of the immediate necessity of the proposed arrangements. It was deemed more respectful to the court, and equally safe, to leave the case, whenever it might occur, to the discretion of the two houses.

A proposition of regency in France was more successful, because it was dictated by the ruling power. It was ordained by the senate, that, on the eventual decease of the emperor during the infancy of his son,<sup>6</sup> his widow should govern in the name of the young prince; that the empress regent should not contract a second marriage; and that, on her failure, the first prince of the blood should be regent; but that no French prince, filling a foreign throne, should be permitted to enjoy this dignity. It was also enacted, that a council, consisting of the princes of the imperial family and the grand dignitaries, should deliberate with the regent on the most important subjects, but without precluding that plenitude of power, or that supremacy, which ought to attend the exalted function.

While Napoleon thus provided for the continuance of political power in his dynasty, he attended to the concerns of the ecclesiastical establishment. The pope had ventured to complain of his conduct; and he was, at this crisis, condescendingly inclined to pacify the pontiff, whom he had long defied. He had before wished to reduce him to the state of a mere bishop; but he now recognised him, in some degree, as a sovereign, by allowing to his ambassadors the same privileges which were enjoyed by the representatives of the most powerful princes; permitted him to nominate his friends to ten prelacies in France and Italy; and consented to the re-establishment of six suburban bishoprics, which were to be filled by the uninfluenced choice of his holiness.

<sup>6</sup> The birth of a son, who was named Charles Napoleon, and styled the king of Rome, had gratified the hopes of Bonaparte in the year 1811.



Having conciliated the religious part of the nation by these concessions to the pope, he prosecuted with redoubled zeal his military preparations : for all his affectation of piety, and of zeal for the church, could not induce him to cultivate "peace on earth and good will toward men." He was eager to demonstrate his superiority over the hostile princes, and his ability of continuing the war with vigour and effect, notwithstanding the ruin of a mighty army. The adjunction of Sweden to the alliance against him, if it particularly roused his indignation, did not discourage him, while he flattered himself with the consoling idea of the forbearance of his father-in-law, whose orders for the arrest and prosecution of many of his subjects, for no other offence than a spirited opposition to the French interest, served to amuse and delude the Corsican.

Leaving the administration in the hands of his chief adherents, who acted under the eye of the empress, he prepared to join his army beyond the Rhine, without apprehending internal commotions. His tyranny was so systematically established, that he had little fear of the effect of his absence. A conspiracy, it is said, had been detected in the preceeding year ; and some military officer had been put to death as enemies to the government : but the intrigues and operations of these malcontents did not wear so formidable an aspect, as to overbalance the alleged necessity of his personal exertions in the ensuing campaign.

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### LETTER XXIII.

*A view of the Progress of the new War, to the Rupture between Austria and France.*

AN honorable and high spirited nation would have risen *en masse* against the tyrant by whose sway it was disgraced, when an opportunity of exertion was offered by the ruin of his army, by the decline of that military fame which had dazzled the eyes of the world, and by the exposure of that contemptuous

apathy which had suffered him to view the miseries of the campaign, without a sigh of regret or an emotion of sympathy. When the discomfited chief, instead of hiding his shame in an obscure retreat, dared to return to Paris, and to boast of the glories of the expedition, the senate and all the constituted authorities ought to have arrested him without hesitation, and have deprived him of that power which he had so long and so wantonly abused : but they had not the common spirit of men, and were content to crouch under an ignominious yoke.

While Napoleon was organising a new mass of strength, he began to feel the effect of his late reverse of fortune, A. D. 1813. in the secession of an injured prince from the league of iniquity.

In entering the Prussian territories after the recovery of Lithuania, Kutusoff apologised for the intrusion, and justified the motives of his sovereign, who, far from intending to take vengeance upon any of those princes or states whose troops had lately acted against him, wished to furnish them with an opportunity of shaking off a burthensome yoke, and particularly hoped to procure the co-operation of Frederic William in the pursuit and chastisement of a routed enemy. Alexander also, in a well-timed proclamation, called the attention of the European powers to the abortion of an unjust enterprise, and the ruin of Napoleon's proud hopes and lofty schemes ; stated his earnest desire of restoring the balance of power ; and urged the expediency of immediate exertions for the rescue of the harassed continent from the miseries of servitude.

When the king of Prussia sent an army to act against the Russians, he did not follow his own inclinations, but was subservient, from constraint, to the arbitrary will of Napoleon. He had long sought an opportunity of emancipation ; and the great success of Alexander, having a tendency to rouse the enslaved nations of the continent, pointed out the present conjuncture as highly favourable to his views. Although he had lost a fourth part of his army in the disastrous expedition, the soldiers who returned had profited by the experience of the campaign ; and their resentment was so aggravated and embittered by the unfeeling selfishness with which the tyrant had abandoned his followers, that they thirsted for an occasion of vengeance. Their sovereign fanned the rising flame, and resolved to take advantage of the prevailing zeal for a recovery of national independence. For some years, he had exercised and disciplined his adult population with anxious diligence : he had

greatly augmented, by manufacture and by purchase, his stock of arms and artillery, and had furnished his principal fortresses with additional means of defence.

A remarkable association, called the League of Virtue,<sup>1</sup> which had arisen in Prussia amidst the misfortunes consequent upon the triumph and tyranny of Bonaparte, had a considerable effect in rousing the subjects of Frederic from their depression, and promoting a new confederacy against the enemy of the nation. It was a respectable and dignified society, sanctioned by the king, and encouraged by the most distinguished characters. Its grand object was to re-animate the intellectual and moral energies of the people; but it did not neglect the grant of that relief which might supply the wants of the poor, and recruit their physical strength and animal spirits. An object, not openly declared, was the recovery of that political strength which the war had so seriously impaired. Six directors, resident at Koningsberg, formed a supreme council, under which were provincial meetings, local chambers, and official circles. Persons of sullied character, or of doubtful integrity, were excluded from the association: yet all the honest and upright part of the nation did not belong to it; for many, whose patriotism was undisputed, were not inclined to subject themselves to any particular rules; and these were not censured or reviled by the members, as they would have been by the anti-Jacobins of Great Britain, were taught to say, "He who is not with us, is against us." It could not be supposed that the existence of such a society would escape the notice of the French officers and emissaries, or that its progress would be quietly suffered in those districts which were in hostile occupancy; but, while its extension was so far checked, that its ramifications were not very exuberant in Brandenburg, it made great progress in East and West Prussia, Pomerania, and Silesia. The members were elevated with hope, when the retreat from Russia confounded the views of the invader; and to their persuasions and efforts the king was indebted for that returning vigor which enabled him to take the field with a respectable and well disciplined force.<sup>2</sup>

While the routed troops were still retreating, about 15,000 Prussians, ostensibly attached to the division of marshal MacDonald, were separated from the French by the manœuvres of

<sup>1</sup> *Der Tugend-Bund.*

<sup>2</sup> The correspondent, consisting of Letters between eminent Writers in France and England, part ii.

count Witgenstein ; and their commander, von Yorck, pretending that they were exposed by the approach of the Russians to the danger of destruction, concluded a convention of neutrality. This conduct was stigmatised by the French as a treacherous desertion of their interest ; and the king, dissembling his joy at the incident, issued an order for the seizure of the general, who secured himself, however, by the aid of his new friends. On the retreat of Macdonald, the Russians took possession of Koningsberg ; and an administrative council was re-established in the name of Frederic, while Yorck assumed the command of such as were willing to defend their country, and restore the legitimate authority of their sovereign ; who, retiring from Potsdam, while the French yet domineered at Berlin, presented himself to his Silesian subjects at Breslau, and, without disclosing his views, prosecuted his military preparations. Rejoicing at the progress of Alexander, he opened a friendly communication with that prince ; and a treaty of Feb. 22. close alliance was adjusted for mutual interest, and for the general benefit of Europe. The French were so alarmed at the revival of patriotic zeal among the Prussians, that they quitted Berlin, and hastened to the Elbe.

After the organisation of a great force, Bonaparte again made his appearance in Germany, menacing the bold confederates with his vengeance. He fixed upon Saxony for the scene of his early operations ; and the seizure of Naumburg, Weissenfeld, and Merseburg, quickly followed his arrival. He was eager to try the effect of a general engagement, in the hope of checking the career of the allies, whose detachments had already driven the enemy from the cities of Hamburg, Luenburg, and Lubeck, from the duchy of Mecklenburg and Swedish Pomerania.

All the zeal of enlistment could not prevent the confederates from being greatly outnumbered by the enemy ; but, as they apprehended that a retreat might be more detrimental to their cause than the hazard of an immediate battle, it was determined, that the army should advance to the plain of Lutzen, and await the approach of Napoleon, who was expected in that direction. After the distribution of troops in various stations, the force which was concentrated on this scene of action did not far exceed the amount of 75,000 effective men, while the number of the opposite host reached 110,000 : but the allies had a great superiority of cavalry. Witgenstein, who, by the death of Kutusoff, had obtained the chief command, disposed the troops in three lines, the first being conducted by Blucher,

the second by Yorck, the third by Winzingerode. Both Napoleon and the count had particular views in their movements; and each disappointed the object of the rival commander. The aim of the former was to cross the Elster, and to put himself in the rear of his opponent: the latter hoped to turn the right of the French; but other arrangements and manœuvres were substituted for the intended operations.

The French and their auxiliaries were posted behind a long ridge, and also occupied several villages and hamlets, with a hollow way in front, and a rivulet on the left. They had planted, on those stations, a formidable range of artillery; and their moveable batteries were supported by large masses of infantry in compact squares. The battle commenced with an attack upon Gros-Gorschen, which the first line long as-  
 May 2.  
 sailed without the desired success, while the other villages were alternately taken and recovered. At the same time, the cavalry charged the enemy's right, and made a considerable impression upon some of the squares; but their efforts could not give a decisive turn to the conflict. The exertions of the second line constrained the French centre to give way: but it was rallied by seasonable support, received from a fresh force, which, being spread to the left of the villages, obliged the advancing line to extend itself so much to the right, as to lose the opportunity of pressing with due weight upon the centre. Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, with a strong body of infantry, attempted to turn the left flank; but, by the approach of Beauharnois, he was so far endangered, that he could not without the greatest difficulty secure himself from defeat. To assist in the repulse of the enemy on this point, the general recalled the cavalry from his left, and ordered an impetuous charge, which seemed at first so efficient, that the opposing ranks were broken and pursued; but these were supported by a powerful phalanx; and night put an end to the engagement.<sup>3</sup>

The French claimed the honour of a complete victory; and, on the other hand, the confederates affirmed, that they kept possession, during the whole night, of the line on which the enemy had stood, and, without losing a single piece of artillery, had taken some trophies of that description. The number

<sup>3</sup> London Gazette of May 25.—Life and Campaigns of Field Marshal Blücher, by count Gneisenau.—Lord Cathcart referring to the last attack, says, that he “was not without hopes of witnessing the destruction of Bonaparte and of all his army:” but it may be asked, was there any probability of such an event at that time, when the allies were comparatively so weak, as to be obliged to retreat beyond the Elbe?



of killed and wounded on both sides, amounted to 30,000 ; but it is doubtful whether more or less than one half of that number ought to be assigned to the French. Among the victims were few distinguished officers. While the enemy lamented the death of general Gouril, and, more particularly, that of marshal Bessieres, styled duke of Istria (who had fallen in a skirmish on the preceding day,) the allies regretted the loss of the prince of Hesse-Homburg.

Alexander, who exposed his person in all parts of the field, escaped without a wound ; and Frederic, not less cool and intrepid than his friend, was equally fortunate. The result of the battle did not discourage these princes : yet, after so severe a loss, they deemed a retreat expedient, in the expectation of a reinforcement. Marching to the eastward, they reached, not without molestation, the banks of the Spree, and formed an encampment near Bautzen, having in their way attempted, with little effect, to obstruct the passage of the enemy over the Elbe.<sup>4</sup> They were induced to proceed to this distance, by the displeasing intelligence of the adjunction of the king of Saxony to the French interest. That prince, being of opinion that the allies would not be able to protect him, joined the enemy of Germany, from an apprehension of being dethroned by the powerful tyrant, by whom, under the specious name of an ally, he was plundered and impoverished.

After some spirited conflicts, in which the generals Miloradowitz and Barclay de Tolli inflicted severe loss on the encroaching enemy, a general engagement occurred near Bautzen. Both armies had recruited their strength ; but the French had still a very considerable superiority of number. They May 20. made a preparatory attempt to gain the heights near Burg, which general Kleist bravely defended, although they nearly turned his left flank : he kept them in check for many hours, and then retired to the general position. An attack upon the post nearest to the town was long sustained by Miloradowitz ; but he also fell back in the evening. Much blood was shed in these assaults ; but the effusion was far greater on the following day, when the French directed their operations with the utmost vigour against the left and

<sup>4</sup> Count Gneisenau says, that the retreat from the plain of Lutzen could not be considered as proceeding from the consequences of the battle, and, if the battle had not been fought, would have become so much the more necessary. But it evidently appears to have been the result and effect of the engagement ; for, when troops, however aware of the numerical superiority of an enemy, advance to a conflict to avoid the disgrace of a retreat, it may be concluded that they would not have retreated, if they had been victorious.

right of the allies. They had stationed a very strong corps in the mountainous country near Klein-Jenkowitz; and the conflict near this post was particularly warm and obstinate. Even the skill of Miloradowitz, the steady valour of the Russian infantry, and the indefatigable activity and alertness of the Cossacks, were for some time fruitless; but at length the enemy suffered a severe repulse. Barclay de Tolly was, at the same time, attacked at Glein, and nearly overwhelmed by the efforts of Ney, who had passed the Spree from the eastward: he was obliged to retreat with great loss, and with difficulty escaped, by the aid of Kleist, to Wurschen. Blücher, who was stationed between the extreme right and the centre, sent a brigade of reserve to attack the marshal on the right flank; but the troops had scarcely marched off, when he was assaulted in almost every part of his position. His division, being obliged to present an extended front on three sides, had only one opening that seemed to promise security: this was in the direction of Preilitz; a village which his detachment had retaken, after it had been lost by the retreating corps of Barclay. The heights in the front of his post were stormed; and, even if they could have been recovered, the battle would not be gained, while those manœuvres which had led to the enemy's success on the right exposed the rear to serious danger. Alexander expressed a wish for a renewal of effort; but the prudence of count Witgenstein checked the indiscreet ardour of his sovereign; and a retreat was ordered, which was conducted with coolness and regularity. On these two days, about 15,000 of the Russians and their associates were killed or wounded; and, on the part of the French, perhaps twice that number suffered. Such dreadful havoc, without the least approach to a decision of the contest, must have filled every humane mind with melancholy reflections.<sup>5</sup>

The allies, in their retreat to Górlitz, were attacked at Reichenbach, in consequence of the eagerness of Napoleon to bring his fresh cavalry into vigorous action. This assault was repelled by the valour of the rear-guard: but, when that division was outflanked by the enemy, the town was hastily quitted, yet not with disorderly precipitation. In this conflict, marshal Duroc, the favorite of Bonaparte, was mortally wounded; and the ball which struck him passed near his patron, who, shuddering at the thought of his own danger, in-

<sup>5</sup> Letter of sir Charles Stewart, in the London Gazette, compared with the French Account.—Life and Campaigns of Blücher.

stantly rode from the spot. The continuance of the pursuit suggested the idea of an ambuscade. A detachment being left in sight to amuse and allure the enemy, twenty squadrons suddenly appeared before the advanced guard of the French, put the cavalry to immediate flight, and routed the infantry, killing many, and capturing all who did not make the most rapid retreat. This manœuvre checked the alacrity of the pursuers; and the retiring army, entering Silesia, encamped near Schweidnitz.

Both armies had so severely suffered, that a truce became highly desirable. The proposal came from Napoleon; by whom, however, it was affirmed that the overture proceeded from the two confederate princes. He wrote to Alexander on the subject; but the letter was sent back unopened, because the king of Prussia was not treated with the same mark of respect. The omission was repaired by a proper application; and conferences ensued, which led to an armistice for above six weeks. It was stipulated, that the French should occupy June 4. the Silesian province from the frontiers of Bohemia to the mouth of the Katzbach, and the combined troops should trace their line of boundary along the Bober to its confluence with the Oder; and that the intermediate country should be considered as neutral. By a subsequent convention, the renewal of hostility was postponed for three additional weeks.

The northern emperor and his ally, beside the wish of recruiting their armies and augmenting all the means of hostility from their own resources, had another inducement for their assent to the truce. They confidently expected the speedy accession of Austria to the confederacy; and they also had reason to conclude, that the Swedes would soon be prepared to afford that assistance which their sovereign had solemnly promised to grant.<sup>6</sup>

While the truce subsisted, the prince regent concluded such new engagements as seemed necessary to invigorate the hostilities of his principal allies. By a convention signed at Reichenbach, he promised to place the sum of 1,333,334 pounds at the disposal of Alexander, if his prince would employ 160,000 men, exclusive of garrisons, in the prosecution of the

<sup>6</sup> A treaty had been concluded in the spring between the British and Swedish courts, requiring the latter to employ not less than 30,000 men against the French, in consideration of a subsidy of one million sterling, and a transfer of the island of Gaudaloupe. The prince regent also engaged to promote the acquisition of Norway by the Swedes, whom Alexander had bribed by this alluring offer.

war; and to maintain the Russian fleet, then stationed in the British ports. To Frederic he granted a subsidy, amounting to 666,666 pounds, for bringing 80,000 men into the field; and it was also agreed, that, to supply the deficiency of coin, notes might be issued for five millions sterling, of which Great Britain would redeem one moiety, Russia one third, and Prussia a sixth part. But, without additional aid, even these stipulations of concert did not promise to be completely efficacious.

Alarmed at the progress of Napoleon, the Austrian emperor, after mature deliberation, resolved to add his strength to that coalition which was apparently too feeble to stem the torrent. He had tried all the resources of negotiation: he had appealed to the honour of his son-in-law for a repression of the career of his unjustifiable ambition; had urged him to reflect on the impolicy of those aggressions which might at length rouse almost every power in Europe against him; and had displayed the happy effects which would result from moderation and equity. But all arguments and persuasions were rendered fruitless by the inflexible obstinacy of Napoleon, who would not restore even the smallest part of his ill-acquired possessions, or make a single sacrifice to the repose of Europe or of the world. Yet he pretended to be desirous of peace, and proposed that a congress should be holden at Prague for the adjustment of all disputes; and, having accepted the mediation of Francis, he fixed a day for the commencement of regular discussion: but his insincerity was manifested by idle pretences and studied evasions; and, the emperor, losing all patience, sent into the field that army which he had levied for the enforcement of his mediatory remonstrances.

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#### LETTER XXIV.

*Continuation of the History, to the Invasion of France by the Allies.*

THAT renovation of spirit which roused the Austrian emperor from his disgraceful subserviency to his arrogant son-in-law, promised the most beneficial effects to the general in-

terest of Europe. It portended the ruin or the effectual humiliation of that overgrown power which the phrenetic and calamitous expedition to Russia had not sufficiently crippled or impaired ; and it therefore excited all the eagerness of hope and all the elevation of joy ; and, in the same proportion in which it animated the continental nations, it depressed and confounded the despot against whom this formidable array was pointed. The new alliance did not fall within the scope of his calculations. He boasted that he had in his sleeve a minister who had an emperor in his pocket : but, as his expectations arose from unreasonable and overweening confidence, they merited no other result than absolute disappointment.

The armistice had scarcely been concluded, when it was basely violated by the perfidy of Arrighi, styled the duke of Padua, who, on pretension of escorting an association of Prussian warriors, called the *Sable Knights*, to the Saxon frontier, ordered a sudden attack to be made upon the unsuspecting party, and put many to the sword, in revenge for the activity and success with which the gallant corps had harrassed the enemies of Frederic. This inhuman act of treachery would have blasted the character of any other nation ; but it could not aggravate the odium which a long series of iniquity and outrage had entailed upon the French.

When the truce expired, the confederacy stood on a formidable basis. The united army of Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, under the command of the prince of Schwartzenberg, reached the amount of 180,000 men, exclusive of many large detached bodies, and the troops which the heir of the Swedish crown led into the field. It was not an ill-cemented union that bound the different powers in an ostensible league ; but a strong sense of common interest matured the association, and produced a more amicable concert than that which is the usual effect of coalitions. The cause in which they were embarked was, in their opinion, one which reflected honour on its supporters ; and the influence of moral sentiment increased the efficiency of the great physical force which this momentous crisis called into action.

That city which had been proposed as the scene of pacification, now became the spot on which the schemes of vigorous hostility were devised and arranged. Alexander visited his new ally at Prague ; and the most friendly union was established between them. General Moreau, who had returned to Europe to offer his assistance, was admitted to their consultations ; and the suggestions of his military experience were ap-



proved and adopted, the more particularly as they were recommended by the concurrent advice of the prince of Sweden.

Napoleon, from his central position, which he had fixed at Dresden, menaced three capitals—Prague, Breslau, and Berlin. His principal army consisted of 150,000 men; and it is supposed that his whole force in Germany amounted to 350,000.<sup>1</sup> In preparing for the resumption of a hostile attitude, he directed his first view to Upper Silesia, where Blucher had 70,000 men under his command. The French were repelled with loss in their early operations near the Bober; but, in a more general action, they so far prevailed over the Prussian commander, that, in compliance with the cautious instructions which he had received, he retreated to Jauer after considerable loss, while the advance of the grand army from Bohemia, induced Napoleon to order a retrograde march towards Dresden. Before he reached that city, count Witgenstein, who conducted the right wing of the allies, gained some advantages near the Saxon frontiers, in defiance of the spirited efforts of the enemy.

In the mean time, the prince of Sweden, aware of the eager wish of the French to humble the king of Prussia by the seizure of Berlin, made prudent dispositions for the security of that city. He had the command of about 75,000 men; but, in the battle of Gros-Beren, few took part except the Prussians. General Tauenzien ably repelled the assaults of Bertrand; and Bulow, who had been dislodged from the village, re-advanced with his infantry formed in squares, and, at the point of the bayonet, stormed several batteries, and retook the post, making great havoc among its defenders. About 1500 men were captured on this occasion; and, in several subsequent conflicts, about 6500 were added to the amount of the prisoners. Mar-

<sup>1</sup> Philippart gives a particular statement of the number of each division, and elevates the grand total, to the eastward of the Rhine, to 515,000, while he reckons the army of Italy at 60,000; and he swells the amount of the allies to 540,000. But it may be observed, that these specifications of force are usually very erroneous. Nothing is more easy than to create a large army on paper: but these lists are, in general, unauthenticated. Even if the different powers had entertained the hope of raising such a mass, great allowance must be made for the extraordinary difficulty of collecting it; and those who disapprove the prevalent practice of exaggeration, will, after a due consideration of circumstances, expect the *act* to fall far short of the *intention*. The pretended enumeration of Bonaparte's army, at the commencement of the Russian campaign, is liable to the same objection. The same writer exhibits what he calls an "authentic copy of the returns," estimating the amount of the infantry at 571,000 men, and the rest of the army (including the attendants of the camp) at 45,510. The calculation of the emperor Alexander, who, in a proclamation, limited the number to 300,000, is seemingly too low; and the estimate of Bernadotte (who, in an address to his army, mentioned 400,000) is probably nearest to the truth.

shal Oudinot, whose army, when he invaded Brandenburg, exceeded 80,000 men, felt such discouragement from the various shocks which he had sustained, that he hastily retreated to the Elbe.

After the return of Bonaparte from Silesia, Blucher found near the Katzbach, a favourable occasion of conflict. Aug. 26. When his troops were marching to action, the French under marshal Macdonald, being equally forward, anticipated the attack, by rushing impetuously upon Langeron's division. General Sacken promptly lined with artillery a commanding post at Eichholtz, and endeavoured to turn the enemy's left flank with cavalry, while a brisk assault was made upon the front with troops of both descriptions. Yorck commenced his operations in the centre, leaning to the left, and met with strong opposition. The artillery made a great impression on both sides; but the bayonets of the allies destroyed a greater number than the amount of their own loss. The horrors of the scene were rendered more appalling by a darkened sky and by incessant rain. So vigorous were the efforts of the undaunted Prussians, and of their brave and zealous associates, that they at length secured the victory in all parts of the field. The vanquished, in their flight, were driven down the steep banks of the Katzbach and the Neisse, and many perished in the swollen streams. A body of reserve advanced to check the fury of the victors, when the pursuit had ceased for the night: but it was arrested in its course by the Russians, and compelled to retreat with no small loss. The renewal of pursuit was so successful, that, within a week from the battle, the number of prisoners amounted to 18,000; and Silesia was freed from the presence and the ravages of a brutal and merciless enemy.<sup>2</sup>

Dresden was now exposed to a grand attack from the main army. Some of the exterior works were quickly taken: but the assailants were checked in their progress by the ample means of defence which the enemy enjoyed; and the dread of a vigorous sally in the evening induced them, after a great loss, to retire from the walls. Encouraged by the arrival of a reinforcement, Bonaparte resolved to risque an encounter with the allies, while he derived from a strong town the advantage of protection: but torrents of rain in a great measure obstructed his intention, as the humid state of the soil precluded the ef-

<sup>2</sup> Life and campaigns of Blucher.—Philippart's History of the Campaign in Germany and France, vol. i.

fectual movements of infantry. Yet a brisk cannonade was not prevented; and the cavalry entered into action. Several bold attempts were made to force the centre and right of the allies; but they were not so efficacious as to correspond with the hopes of the French, who were enabled, however, to destroy or capture a great number of their adversaries. Being informed of the movements of Vandamme, who threatened to interrupt the communication with Bohemia, the prince of Schwartzenberg at length called off his troops, when they had checked all the efforts which were made for their defeat. He was apprehensive of being reduced to a scarcity of subsistence; and, although he deemed it probable that the French would construe his retreat into an acknowledgment of defeat, he flattered himself with the idea of having afforded, to the prince of Sweden and the Prussian general, an opportunity of moving forward, and acting with energy upon the flanks and rear of the concentrated army.

In this engagement, the allies were deprived of the valuable assistance of an able general, whose zeal in their service was apparently ardent and sincere. While Moreau was conversing with Alexander, a cannon ball passed through his horse, and carried off both his legs. He lingered for some days, and then expired, to the great joy of his Corsican enemy. His new friends lamented his death: yet they were ready to admit, that it was useless to repine at the chances and calamities of war; when they were deeply engaged in a momentous and interesting cause, which, they thought, could not be relinquished with honor or security.

The retiring army, after very fatiguing marches, had nearly reached Toplitz, when count Osterman, followed by Vandamme, was obliged to risque a conflict. After the most gallant resistance, he was on the point of being overwhelmed by a force which more than trebled his own; but he was relieved and rescued by the opportune aid of the Russian guards and grenadiers. Vandamme, though repelled, was inflamed with an eager desire of trying his strength against the bulk of Schwartzenberg's army, which he weakly supposed to be discouraged and despondent. He therefore posted himself at Culm, and covered the adjacent heights with infantry and artillery. Hopes of crushing this rash antagonist were confidently entertained. The Prince ordered Barclay de Tolli Aug. 30. to conduct the attack; and all the operations were successful. Count Coloredo assaulted the left, and Miloradowitz the right, with impetuosity and vigor; and, while they en-

grossed the enemy's attention, Kleist suddenly descended from the heights of Nollendorff, and threatened the rear of Vandamme, who, being also vanquished in every part of his front, thought only of an escape. His men threw down their arms and fled, leaving all their artillery; and 9000 of their number, with the general himself, suffered the disgrace of captivity. This victory gratified the troops with some days of repose, and flattered them with the hopes of farther success.<sup>3</sup>

Bonaparte had made such movements as left it doubtful whether he intended to attack Blücher or the prince of Sweden: but both were prepared for the event; and the reported advance of the grand army induced him to return to the vicinity of Dresden. Ney, being ordered to attack the prince, marched from Wittenberg, dislodged General Dobschutz from Zahn after a well contested and protracted combat, and hastened to Jüterbock, to check the meditated progress of the northern army to the Elbe and to Leipzig. The Prussians Sept. 6. under Bulow were detached to oppose the enemy, who had already assaulted Tauenzien's division with great fury; and 40,000 men long contended with 70,000, who, in addition to this superiority, were more amply provided with artillery. The circumstance, which chiefly contributed to the decision of the contest, was the seasonable aid afforded by general Borstel, whose brigade stormed Gehlsdorff, and broke the enemy's line. Another brigade attacked the post of Dennewitz, and silenced its batteries. A select body of Swedish and Russian cavalry then rushed forward, and increased the disorder which was beginning to spread among the French ranks; and the approach of several strong columns diffused such terror as to produce a retreat. In vain did the marshal endeavour to rally his battallions. The cavalry, being furiously assailed, could no longer protect the fugitives; and, amidst the confusion, many rode over their countrymen and friends. This victory was not obtained without considerable loss; for about 5000 Prussians were killed or wounded, while the French who suffered were much more numerous. On that and the two following days, 10,000 of the vanquished were made prisoners: the rest of the army fled to the Elbe; and found protection in the Saxon towns.<sup>4</sup>

When Napoleon reflected on his situation, he could not conceal from himself the danger to which he was exposed.

<sup>3</sup> London Gazette.—Life and Campaigns of Blücher.

<sup>4</sup> Life and Campaigns of Blücher.—Philippart, vol. i.

He was menaced by three great armies, which seemed to have acquired the power of surrounding him. He marched to overawe Blucher, who was boldly advancing: the grand army then moved forward; and he immediately changed the direction of his march. Finding that 150,000 men were ready to receive him, near the scene of Vandamme's defeat, he became less forward and resolute, and retreated to his Saxon asylum. The advance of Schwartzenburg again drew the invader from his central post. He boasted of his success in several actions; but they were comparatively unimportant; and his accounts were absurdly exaggerative and palpably false. His repeated attempts being baffled, he retraced his steps, being desirous of avoiding a general engagement, unless the prospect of advantage should overbalance the risque.

While the sovereigns remained in Bohemia, they gave to their alliance the sanction of regular treaties. It was agreed, between Alexander and Francis, that each should assist the other prince, in the event of an attack, with 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, well supplied with all the means of hostility; and Frederic also contracted, with the Austrian prince, engagements of the same nature; and the three allies were more disposed to exceed than to diminish the stipulated number of combatants.

Notwithstanding the great success of the confederates in several actions, their ultimate triumph was still doubtful. While they acted with scrupulous caution, alternately advancing and retreating, they indefinitely prolonged the war, and extended the misery which it necessarily produced. After such a deliberation as the importance of the subject required, they resolved to adopt a more determined system of operations, to concentrate the three armies, and make simultaneous efforts of the most daring kind for the ruin of their implacable foe. They had received a strong accession to their force from Poland and Russia; and, as it greatly exceeded that which the enemy could bring to one point against them, they considered all farther delay as injurious to their cause.

In the execution of this scheme, the enterprising Blucher took the lead. He made forced marches to the Elbe, threw pontons over it, and reached the left bank, after some opposition from Bertrand, who had taken a strong position at Wartenberg. This post was stormed with small loss; and the army proceeded with alacrity toward the Saal. The prince of Sweden followed the example; and an easy communication was quickly opened between the armies. Bonaparte had ad-



vanced with a seeming intention of encountering the former host, while it was unsupported; but, as soon as he found that the two generals had the means of co-operation, he retired with an air of sullen dejection. Suspecting, from some subsequent movements, that he intended to proceed to Magdeburg, the prince rapidly repassed the Saal, and threw himself in the way to that city, that he might stop the enemy in front, while the rear would be exposed to an attack from the Prussian commander. In the mean time, the principal army, leaving a strong division near Toplitz for the defence of Bohemia, entered Saxony, and advanced, amidst occasional and partial conflicts, to the southern side of Leipzig.

Since the battle of Lutzen, the French had made Leipzig their *depot* and their infirmary, not merely from policy, but from a desire of taking vengeance upon the inhabitants for their anti-Gallican sentiments. The city was afterward declared to be in a state of seige; and, on that pretence, the people were robbed of every thing that the soldiers of the *great empire* either required or wished. Even its great resources were at length exhausted by the insatiable rapacity of the intruders: it became a dreadful scene of poverty and famine; and the miseries of the citizens were destined to be aggravated by the proximity of war in all its horrors. In addition to thousands who had long been its inmates, the vicinity was thronged with approaching multitudes; and it was reported that Napoleon would transfer his head-quarters to this spot. Such an alarming rumour, it may easily be supposed, increased the general dejection and despondency. The presence of the hated tyrant was dreaded as the height of misfortune.

It was his intention (as stated in one of his bulletins) to manœuvre on the right bank of the Elbe from Dresden to Hamburg, to threaten Potsdam and Berlin, and to take Magdeburg as a central point: but when he found that the Bavarian army had joined the Austrians, and menaced the Lower Rhine, he was induced to make new arrangements, that he might avoid the danger of too distant a removal from his regular communications. He therefore commenced a retrograde march, ordering Murat to precede him. That commander took his station near Lieberwolkwitz, to the southward of Leipzig: Bertrand occupied Lindenau, to the westward, where the access to the city was most difficult; and several posts near the Mulda, the Elster, and Partha, were selected as points of defence.

The allies were not slow in their movements and preparations for a vigorous attack. Blucher's troops advanced to the northern posts, and quickly cleared some of the villages : but, at others, they experienced an obstinate resistance. At Mockern, the contest was particularly fierce and sanguinary. The place frequently changed its possessors ; but it was at length secured by the division of York. Count Langeron was opposed by Marshal Ney, over whom his superiority of success was evident. In the plain, the cavalry made some spirited charges and repelled the enemy on every point. Yet nothing that was decisive occurred on this day ; and even the imperfect advantages were purchased with great loss ; for about 7000 men were killed or wounded. On the side of the enemy, the victims, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to 12,000.<sup>5</sup>

The grand army, on the same day, long contended to the southward. Kleist commenced the operations on this side by an attack upon Mark-kleeberg, which he forced and retained. The prince of Wirtemberg assaulted Wachau, which was the scene of repeated conflicts. The enemy directed the most strenuous efforts against the centre of the allies ; and an impetuous charge, conducted by Murat, had nearly separated it from all communication with the right wing, when Alexander sent forward the Cossack guards, whose vigour confounded and dispersed the assailants. Gossa, and other stations were, at the same time, furiously contested ; and no striking advantages were obtained by either party.

As the rival commanders equally wished for a decisive engagement, a day of anxious and silent preparation was allowed to intervene. The prince of Sweden, who had no share in the late conflicts, had brought his army to the banks of the Partha ; and having received a reinforcement of 30,000 men from Blucher, he drove the enemy before him, and stormed the heights of Taucha ; while the Prussian general advanced against other posts, bordering on the same river. Probestheide, in the French centre, was attacked by the grand army ; and the posts in its front were several times seized and retaken. Connewitz was also a scene of an obstinate contest. The road from that village along the Pleisse, was lined with batteries ; but the Austrian artillery, being placed on an eminence, had a much greater effect on this spot : yet the enemy maintained to the close of the day. Schwartzenberg, being debarred

from a close communication with the other commanders, had not that accurate knowledge of their progress which would enable him to direct their future operations with judgment and propriety; but the desired opportunity was afforded by the defection of the Saxons<sup>6</sup> from the cause of their domineering ally. They were posted near Taucha, and were seemingly ready to oppose the allies; but they suddenly shouldered their musquets, marched in close files, and joined with their artillery the army of Bernadotte, who instantly turned every piece against the French. The men earnestly desired permission to act; but, their service being declined, they retired from the field. Some French battalions, having advanced to co-operate with the Saxons, were surprised into captivity. The confederates certainly profited by the desertion, as it occasioned an opening in the lines, and consequently discouraged the enemy: but they would, in all probability, have obtained the victory, even if no such event had occurred. In the mean time, the battle raged in various directions, particularly at Schonefeld and Probestheide. Count Langeron, who had with great difficulty taken the former post, was obliged to yield it to the renewal of hostile vigor; but, when Blücher had peremptorily ordered him to retake it, he directed a charge with the bayonet, and again dislodged the foe. In the centre, likewise, the repetition of attack prevailed; and, in the evening, the enemy retreated from all parts of the field.<sup>7</sup> Above 40,000 of the tyrant's infatuated followers were killed, wounded, or captured; but he would only acknowledge that 4000 had suffered, and even denied that any of his men had been made prisoners.

These were not the only fruits of the victory. As Leipzig was still retained by the French, it was necessary to intimidate the intruders by a show of hostility; and a battering-train being brought forward, the troops advanced to force an entrance. To a request from the king of Saxony, that the town might not be destroyed, such an answer was given as did not altogether remove his apprehensions. The assailants intimated, that no farther violence or injury should be offered than the opposition of the French justified or required; and they added, that the persons and property of all the inhabitants, who should not encourage, assist, or harbour the enemy, would be protected and secured. Only the rear-guard of the French re-

<sup>6</sup> About 3000 men.

<sup>7</sup> Letter of Sir Charles Stewart, in the London Gazette Extraordinary of Nov. 3. Narrative of the Events which occurred in and near Leipzig, from Oct. 14 to 19.

mained in the city, beside the sick and wounded, who are said to have amounted to 25,000.

Bonaparte, who had entered in the morning, was still at the palace with the king, when the cannonade commenced. The western side was the only part which seemed to afford, to him and his soldiers, the means of escape. Having given directions to Macdonald for the vigorous defence of the suburbs, that the troops might have time to reach the defile which led to Lindenau, he retired with a small train, and rode with speed to the Elster, while disorder and alarm pervaded the city. The streets were rendered almost impassable by mingled artillery and waggons: the troops pushed forward with that eagerness which left to every one only a thought of his own safety; and, when the allies rushed in, the confusion and terror rose to the extremity of horror. Slaughter raged in the streets: many of the fugitives were deprived of life by that closeness of pressure which they could not elude; and not a few were driven into the Pleisse, where they miserably perished. In the way to Lindenau was a bridge, which Bonaparte ordered to be blown up;<sup>3</sup> and this obstruction of the retreat, multiplied the deaths, and greatly swelled the amount of the prisoners.

After the capture of the city, the three sovereigns, and the prince of Sweden, made their entry, and were saluted with rapturous acclamations. They congratulated each other on the splendid success which had attended the arms of the coalition, and looked forward with all the alacrity of hope to the ruin of their malignant enemy. The distress and misery which the war had produced excited their compassion; but they judged that he alone, from whose wanton ambition it had originated, was responsible for all its calamities; and they considered rather opposition and resistance as necessary for securing an honourable and permanent peace.

<sup>3</sup> According to the account which he sent to Paris, he extended his order to the last moment, that, when all the French had passed, the enemy might be prevented from pursuing them; but the corporal of miners, when he heard the first discharge of small arms from the ramparts, set fire to the mine which he had prepared, and thus precluded the escape of many thousands of his countrymen. It is supposed with great probability, that the corporal strictly executed the order in point of time; for the fugitive leader, if he could secure his own evasion, had no feeling for his endangered troops. In the same bulletin, the loss during the retreat from the city, is estimated at 12,000 men,—calculation of which the captives formed the far greater part. The real amount, however, was much more considerable. Among the prisoners were the Saxon king and his courtiers, Marmont, Bertrand, and other generals. Prince Poniatowski, disdaining the idea of a surrender, crossed the Pleisse, and was drowned in the Elster.

The victory of Leipzig diffused general joy over Europe, more particularly in Great Britain, where the zealous exertions of the allied princes, the talents, skill, and courage of their generals were properly appreciated, and highly applauded, not only by the prince regent and his ministers, but by the majority of the nation. The additional supplies requisite for the promotion of the common cause were readily voted; and hopes of crushing the tyrant were confidently entertained. It was observed with pleasure, that the public spirit which had been so signally manifested in the defence of the peninsula and the Russian empire against the powerful efforts of the invader, now began to operate with equal ardour in Germany and in Holland. Submission to the dictates of a power which had no right to controul or direct any other nation, appeared in the most disgraceful light; and the zeal of independence broke forth in the most animated form.

Hastening from the scene of slaughter, the fugitive adventurer passed the Saal, reluctantly acknowledging that the French army had lost its victorious attitude. As the pursuit was at first neglected by the conquerors, to whom a respite was necessary, he had an opportunity of resting at Erford, whence he proceeded to the Maine. The intelligence of his discomfiture had stimulated the activity of the Bavarians, who, under the conduct of Wrede, a brave and skillful commander, marched, after the reduction of Wurtzburg, to stop his progress. When they had been joined by a body of Austrians, the advancing army amounting to 30,000 men;—a number apparently insufficient for the purpose of interception.

The probability of meeting Napoleon in the direction of Hanau, induced the general to detach a regiment of light horse to take possession of that town; and the desired information was then obtained. The French soon made their appearance; and, on the arrival of the greater part of the Bavarian army, some skirmishes arose, which terminated in the captivity of 4500 of the fugitives. On the ensuing day, partial and desultory combats were continued for seven hours; but, as the whole army which retreated with Napoleon, exceeding the amount of 65,000 men, had then reached the vicinity of Hanau, the battle became more regular and systematic. Bonaparte hoped to crush the right wing by the efforts of a great mass of infantry: but the firmness of that division repelled the assailants, who suffered severely in the collision. His cavalry rushed upon the centre and the left and made some impression; and the allies at length so far gave way,



that the enemy opened a passage, and the first column escaped to the northward of the town. The rest, after a renewal of conflict, effected their retreat. Above 6000 men were killed or wounded on the part of the allies; but more than twice that number suffered in the French army; and 10,000 prisoners were, in a few days, added to the former amount.<sup>9</sup>

With such vigilant care did Napoleon provide for his safety, and so highly was he favoured by fortune, that he arrived at Paris within three weeks after his flight from Leipzig. During his retreat, he had issued an order for the speedy meeting of the legislative body; and he took an early opportunity of stating his exigencies to the conservative senate, and of proposing such arrangements as were requisite for the defence of the country. It was decreed, that 300,000 men should be placed at the disposal of the minister of war; but the assembly considered one half of this force as sufficient for immediate service, the rest being liable to be called out only in case of an invasion of the eastern frontier.

While the allies were ignorant of the fate of Bonaparte, their armies advanced toward the Rhine by different routes. Multitudes of prisoners, and a variety of spoils, indicated the disorganization of the retiring troops; and only the wreck of a mighty host could be discerned. The prince of Sweden, for some time, moved in a western direction; but he was induced to turn to the northward by the desire of securing the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, and of expelling the enemy from the circle of Lower Saxony. As soon as he entered the Hanoverian territories, which the French had already evacuated, the inhabitants gladly embraced the opportunity of shaking off a detested yoke; and the authority of the elector was restored with universal assent. His attention was also directed to Holland; for he ordered the baron Winzingerode to extend his line to the borders of that country, with a view to the emancipation of a long harrassed people.

The ruin of the grand army of France inspired the Hollanders with the most pleasing hopes. Few nations were ever more systematically oppressed than they had been. For that ready submission which ought to have excited the gratitude of the French, and to have ensured to them the most lenient administration, they were treated with the most supercilious arrogance, as if they had been the most contemptible of man-

4 The writer of Bonaparte's bulletin of the 3d of November, says, that on the day which followed the battle of Hanau, the enemy was *in full retreat*: but this assertion is only true with regard to himself and his army; for his adversaries were *in full pursuit*.

kind. Enormous taxation, the increased rigors of military conscription, the extinction of that foreign trade which had formerly enriched the community, and among a numerous class, the annihilation of the ordinary comforts of life, were the evils under which they had long groaned, and which they had borne with abject submission, or with exemplary patience. No prospect of relief seemed to dawn upon the darkness of their fate, before the expedition to Russia plunged their oppressor into difficulties and dangers. Hope then so far revived, that some of the distinguished friends of the house of Orange held private meetings at the Hague, in which public affairs were the topics of conversation, and schemes of deliverance were earnestly discussed. Even those citizens who had opposed that family were ready to concur in any efforts which the people might be disposed to make for the recovery of their independence. The same spirit was secretly propagated through the provinces; and the flame of liberty was ready to burst forth with renovated lustre, as soon as an opportunity should be offered by the continued misfortunes of the tyrant. In some of the towns, that discontent which had long been repressed broke out too soon into action. The people tumultuously resisted the organization of the national guard. At Leyden, even the flag of the old government was hoisted, amidst loud cries of *Orange boven*!!<sup>10</sup> These partial insurrections were speedily quelled; and no farther commotion arose before the report of the battle of Leipzig diffused general joy through the United Provinces. The leading partisans of the exiled prince then selected, chiefly from the middle class at the Hague, a courageous and faithful band, ready to act on the spur of the occasion; and they procured, by the influence of count Stirum, the adjunction of a corps of the national guard to the confederacy. On the advance of the allies, the people, in different towns, were eager for an explosion; but they were checked for some time by the prudence and caution of the higher class. At length, Falck, an officer of the guard at Amsterdam, thinking that longer delay would be useless, instigated the populace to make such a disturbance as might enforce the retreat of the French who were in power, and induce the Dutch municipality to agree to the formation of a provisional government. The scheme had the desired effect. The French officers of the government left the city on the following day; and

10 "Orange above!" or, "Up with the house of Orange!"

twenty-four persons, named in a proclamation, began to assume the administrative functions; but they neither acknowledged the prince of Orange, nor renounced the authority of the emperor of France.<sup>11</sup> Nov. 16.

While the expected revolution was yet in suspense, from the indecision of the new rulers of Amsterdam, the confederates at the Hague started into action, desired count Stirum to act as governor, and convoked a meeting of those persons who had been ministers or deputies in the year 1794. The people were absolved from the allegiance which they had sworn to the tyrant; such as continued to obey any orders issued in his name were stigmatised as traitors to their country; and the prince of Orange was proclaimed with shouts of heart-felt satisfaction.

The means of supporting this insurrection were apparently inconsiderable, and even contemptible. About 1000 men, at the Hague, were indeed armed, but not in a soldier-like manner: money, and all kinds of stores, were deplorably deficient; and it was not known whether the prince would venture to put himself at the head of the confederacy. But the prospect of aid from Great Britain, and from the allied pursuers of the retreating army, gave encouragement to the boldest acts and most vigorous measures. The refusal of the invited statesmen to join the association gave a temporary check to the general ardor: but the appointment of Hogendorp and Massdam to the chief administration restored confidence and preserved tranquility.

Doubt and anxiety still prevailed at Amsterdam: but, after a week's deliberation, the magistrates proclaimed the prince, and the people honored him with the style of royalty. This example was followed at Rotterdam, under the auspices of admiral Kichert. At Leewarden and Groningen, likewise, the authority of the prince was restored; but the apprehensions of hostility from the garrison of Utrecht damped the rising joy.

The appearance of some British vessels at Scheveling, and the disembarkation of a body of marines, inspired the patriots at the Hague with confident hopes of effectual aid; and the arrival of the prince from England, with the earl of Clancarty, whom the regent had sent as his ambassador to the rescued provinces, diffused, even among the phlegmatic Hollanders, a rapturous joy. He expressed his gratitude for the honour of that spontaneous invitation which he had received, and declared that he would devote his future life to the service of his

country, and the promotion of public prosperity and private happiness. By the citizens of Amsterdam he was received with an equal warmth of congratulation: he was proclaimed sovereign prince of the United Netherlands; and, as it seemed to be the general wish of the nation that a monarchical government should be established, he promised to frame, with the aid of wise and experienced statesmen, such a constitution as would combine freedom with royalty. A Russian detachment arrived for the protection of the capital: the Briel was taken by the valor of the Dutch: Helvoet-sluis was recovered with facility; and Arnheim was stormed by the Prussians, who, in retaliation of a massacre recently committed at Woerden by the French, put the garrison to the sword.

While the Dutch were employed in the recovery of their independence, the allied princes, having reached the banks of the Rhine, stated to the world their views and intentions. They declared that they had no enmity against the French nation: they hoped to see it great, powerful, and happy: they considered France, in a state of vigor and respectability, as one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe; and they were therefore willing to secure, to that empire, an extent of territory which the French kings had never known. But they could not tamely witness that preponderance which Napoleon laboured to establish, or submit to a series of encroachments upon states which had a fair claim to independence. They wished to check wanton ambition, to put an end to the calamities which Europe had for twenty years suffered, and restore peace upon the basis of a well balanced partition of strength; and they would not lay down their arms without fixing such principles, and making such arrangements, as would secure the observance of treaties, and provide for permanent tranquility.

## LETTER XXV.

*View of the fortunate Progress of the Spanish War.*

THE regent's remark, extenuating the success of the French after their defeat at Salamanca, and adverting to those sacrifices which seemed prospectively favourable to the Spanish cause, had the air of prophecy. They appeared to be, in a great measure, incapable of the bold operations of offensive warfare. Content with their partial progress, they were disposed to remain inactive, while their sovereign was intent upon the reparation of the losses which he had sustained in Russia. On the other hand, the rulers of Spain were animated with fresh alacrity, and willing to correct the errors which had been found detrimental and pernicious. They gave their full confidence to the able commander who was destined to lead them to victory. He was invested with the dignity of generalissimo, and gratified with extraordinary powers : and a desirable unity of command pervaded the military system of the peninsula. He had procured from Britain a very considerable supply of troops ; and the Spanish armies received great augmentations, particularly from Andalusia. He hoped that farther draughts would be made from Spain, for the exigencies of the war in Germany, and that an opportunity might thus be afforded for the expulsion or discomfiture of the military partisans of Joseph.

When the spring called the opposite armies into action, the marquis of Wellington assembled his principal force in the vicinity of Ciudad Rodrigo. His first object was to cross the Douro. The enemy, having taken strong positions on the right bank of that river, might be expected to oppose the passage : but, the marquis, by ordering a part of the army to cross it within the frontiers of Portugal, and to move along its northern side, overawed the French into such a retreat as left the barrier undefended. He dislodged a small force from Salamanca, and proceeded to Palencia, while the French with three united armies, occupied the country about Burgos. He did not suffer them to remain long unmolested in this position. When he had turned their flanks by the terrific movements of his cavalry, they retreated toward

A. D. 1813.



the Ebro : but he resolved to anticipate their movements by crossing the river without delay, so as to threaten an interruption of their communication with France. The troops passed without opposition (while the French main body remained at Pancorbo,) and directed their march toward Vittoria. Alarmed at this advance, marshal Jourdan, who exercised the chief command under the nominal king, marched to the Ebro, rapidly passed it, and posted his right near the city.

The hope of terminating, by an indisputable and complete victory, the contest for the possession of Spain, animated the zeal of lord Wellington. He took as accurate a survey of the enemy's position as the distance would allow ; and not being deterred by its apparent strength or defensibility, he made dispositions for an attack. The left wing of the French occupied the heights near La Puebla de Arlancon ; their centre was posted on an eminence which commanded the valley near the Zadora ; and their right rested upon Vittoria.

So eager were the allied troops for action, that they did not require any exhortations to rouse or inspire them : yet the short speech of their general, circulated among the ranks, may be supposed to have had an encouraging effect. " Remember, my friends, that you are the brothers of the heroes of Trafalgar, and that you have before you those whom you vanquished at Salamanca."

June 21. The battle commenced with the operations of sir Rowland Hill, who attacked the heights of La Puebla, on which Jourdan had not at first stationed a great force. When the French general, discovering the importance of that position, had sent additional troops to maintain it, successive reinforcements were detached to the assault ; and the contest was animated and severe. As the enemy could not, with every effort, secure the possession, the right of the confederates, protected by this acquisition, passed the Zadora, and attacked Sabijana, which was seized by their vigor, and retained by the firmness of their perseverance. The central body now crossed the river, and advanced with an air of intrepidity which intimidated the intrusive prince, who ordered the menaced division to retire in the direction of Vittoria. Sir Thomas Graham moved from the left ; and, by his direction, general Oswald impetuously assaulted the strong heights which covered Gamarra Mayor. In this service, the Spaniards and Portuguese, according to the official report, " behaved admirably." The heights were gained, and the village was stormed at the point of the bayonet. Abecchuco was resolutely attack-

ed; and, while the defence was continued with spirit, Joseph detached a select division to retake Gamarra: but this attempt was fruitless, and the efforts for the retention of the other post were also baffled. The retreat of the French now became universal; and it was so precipitate and disorderly, that they abandoned their artillery and baggage; and even left the military chest to hostile seizure. As the rugged nature of the ground, and its frequent intersections, obstructed the movements of the cavalry, the pursuit was not very effective; and, therefore, the far greater part of the routed army escaped.<sup>1</sup>

This victory was purchased with severe loss. The British list of killed and wounded exceeded 3300: the Portuguese and Spaniards who suffered, amounted respectively to 1049 and 553. No accurate account has been given of the French loss of men;<sup>2</sup> but the captured artillery consisted of 150 pieces, and the stores and provisions were abundant and valuable.

The joy which this success diffused over the peninsula sparkled in every eye, and enlivened every countenance. Not only the independence of Portugal seemed to be established; but the throne of Ferdinand was considered as secure. Yet, if the allied princes had not been fortunate in Germany, a reverse of fortune might have occurred beyond the Pyrenees.

General Clausel, whose aid in the battle had been expected, was advancing to Vittoria with a strong division, when he found that it was occupied by the British corps. He hastily retreated towards Logrono; and, as there was a fair prospect of his interception, the marquis detached troops for that purpose. Mina and Sanchez were already pursuing him; but, by an uncommon rapidity of march, he escaped to Tudela, and even found an opportunity of reaching one of the Pyrenean passes. In the mean time sir Thomas Graham continued the pursuit in the territory of Biscay, and Castanos drove the still-resisting enemy to the Bidassoa. A garrison which had been left

<sup>1</sup> London Gazette Extraordinary of July 3.—History of the War in Spain and Portugal, by General Sarazin.—This officer is of opinion, that much greater mischief might have been inflicted on this occasion, and a much more complete victory obtained. As the marquis, indeed, appears to have had a considerable superiority of number, some others may entertain the same opinion; but it ought to be considered, that the French had the advantage of position; and, as the success was great, and the result highly beneficial, that criticism which aims only at the freedom of animadversion may well be spared.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Castlereagh, evidently speaking from conjecture, swelled the number of killed, wounded, and prisoners, to 12,000, when he moved for a vote of thanks to the victorious general. Some officers, in private letters, estimated the number at 6000; others at only 5000.

in the castle of Pancorbo resolved to defend it with vigor : but, when the count of Abisbal (general O'Donnel) had stormed an inferior fort, the courage of the commandant declined into the humility of capitulation.

The operations of the allies on the eastern coast of Spain, were far from being so well conducted as those which ensured the splendid triumph at Vittoria. Suchet advanced against the army which sir John Murray commanded, took the castle of Villena, and forced the pass of Biar. The strong and commanding position which the allies occupied, did not deter the marshal from an attack, which, however, was confined to the left wing. His columns attempted to ascend a range of hills near Castalla; but the defence was as firm as the charge was impetuous; and the enemy consequently retreated. A vigorous pursuit might have rendered this repulse advantageous: but the opportunity was neglected; for the movements were not so quick or so prompt as the occasion required. Soon after this engagement, sir John received instructions from the commander in chief, to aim at the recovery of the open part of the Valencian province, and at the expulsion of the French from the lower Ebro, so as to secure a communication with the army of Catalonia. An attack upon Tarragona was included in the scheme of hostility, as the apprehension of losing that town would probably draw Suchet from his position near the Xucar. Under the conduct of admiral Hallowel, the armament sailed from Alicant to cape Salon; and the troops commenced the investment of Tarragona; but they had made little progress in the siege, when a report of the advance of Suchet from the South, and of Mathieu from the north-east, reduced sir John to a despair of success. He began to calculate the disparity between his force and that which threatened him with an attack; and, after garrisoning a fort which he had taken, and leaving a division to keep the garrison in check, he concluded that only 16,000 men would remain, to meet "the best French troops in Spain," exceeding the amount of 20,000. The British and German soldiers, about 4500 in number, formed, he said, the only part of his army upon which he could firmly rely: the rest were Spaniards and Italians. He continued the siege for some days after he had convinced himself of the impossibility of success, and then re-embarked in disorder, leaving the guns in the advanced batteries, which the admiral had offered to secure. He lingered on the coast, and relanded the troops for a trifling object, instead of expe-

dition that return which might enable him to assist the Spaniards near Xucar.<sup>3</sup>

Lord William Bentinck, who arrived on the coast during the preparations for retreat, assumed the command; and, when the troops regained the Valencian coast, he led them against Suchet, who had returned to his former station. The defeat of his countrymen at Vittoria now induced the marshal to hasten into Catalonia. The allies followed him, and menaced Tarragona with a resumption of the siege. On his advance to the town, they retired; but he suffered them to take possession of it, when he had destroyed the fortifications and removed the garrison. Some loss and disgrace were afterward sustained, in consequence of a bold incursion into the country near Barcelona. While the head-quarters were at Villa-Franca, an advanced body occupied the pass of Ordal. The vigilant enemy, approaching in force, suddenly attacked the allies, and, after making some havoc in the action, captured or dispersed the detachment. In consequence of this check, the rest of the army hastily retreated to Tarragona.

As the success at Vittoria was incomplete without the acquisition of St. Sebastian and Pampeluna, one was besieged, and the other blockaded; but, from the mountainous nature of the country, the requisite communication was not maintained between the divisions which were thus employed. For the retrieval of the French glory in Spain, marshal Soult was despatched from Germany to take the chief command; and, having reason to apprehend that an invasion of France would quickly follow the reduction of the two fortresses, he resolved to make vigorous efforts for their relief. He formed a great army by a recal of the fugitives, and assaulted the post of Roncessalles, which was defended by the brigade of major-general Byng, but which all the exertions of that officer, reinforced by the division of sir Lowry Cole, could not prevent from being turned. The dislodged troops retired toward Pampeluna; and sir Rowland Hill, being attacked on the same day in the Puerto de Maya, deemed a retreat expedient when he was apprised of the repulse of the right, even after he had recovered from the rude shock to which the impetuosity of a superior force had exposed him.

In expectation of the marshal's approach to the blockaded

<sup>3</sup> His conduct being loudly blamed, was investigated by a council of officers, who only censured his abandonment of the artillery and stores; but the public seemed to think that he ought not to have been employed in an important command.

city, such positions were taken as seemed to afford a prospect of defence. In the midst of the arrangements, the marquis arrived to quicken and animate the operations; and, when the enemy endeavoured to seize a commanding post, it was resolutely maintained under his eye by a body of Spaniards and Portuguese. Upon the heights near the valley of the Lanz a more formidable attack was made; and, while the assailants were repelled with great loss on some points of the line, they effected a lodgment in other parts; but the intrusion was soon chastised by a sanguinary repulse. An attempt to turn the left was the enemy's next enterprise; and, for this purpose, the marshal so far weakened his line, as to present an opportunity of a general attack. His right and left were assailed with vigour and effect: his main body was also dislodged from a position of remarkable strength; and, at the same time, troops were detached for the support of a division that formed the extreme left of the allies, and which, after withdrawing from one height to another, ultimately maintained itself. A pass which the retiring troops boldly endeavoured to secure, did not effectually stop the career of their adversaries, who exultingly drove them to the French frontier.

St. Sebastian was defended with zeal and pertinacity. When two breaches had been made, an assault was risked; but, as the fire of the place was yet entire, and the breaches were flanked by well-manned works, the attempt was unsuccessful, and mischievous to the gallant besiegers. After a month's delay and a renewal of preparation, some batteries began to pour forth a more formidable fire; and dispositions were made for another assault. Soult advanced to the relief of the garrison, and repeatedly attacked a Spanish force, posted near Bidassoa;

Aug. 31. but he met with such a vigorous resistance, that he abandoned the hopes of success. So well had the Spaniards profited by the military instruction of their friends, that the British troops, placed on their flanks to aid their operations, did not find it necessary to act on this occasion. On the same day, the storming party moved forward to a new breach, which was apparently so well secured by every kind of preparation, that the danger of entering might have appalled the stoutest hearts. "No man (says the director of the attack<sup>4</sup>) outlived the attempt to gain the ridge;" and the enterprise seemed to be absolutely hopeless. But the expedient of turning the guns against the curtain changed the scene. It



required extraordinary care and attention, so to point the artillery as not to injure the assailants, over whose heads the balls were intended to pass; and this service was performed with unexampled precision. Its effect was speedy and important; and it was aided by a sudden explosion of shells and ammunition on the rampart, which produced confusion among the defenders of the works. Another attempt to reach the summit was crowned with success. A detachment, sent to the right of the breach, forced the barricades on the top of the wall, and entered the adjoining houses: all the complications of defence gave way; and the whole town was seized by the allies. The loss was severe; for about 500 of the assailants were killed, and 1500 wounded. In the following week, the castle was taken; and above 1800 men became prisoners of war.<sup>5</sup>

Repeated threats of an invasion of Britain had only served to evince the boastful presumption of the French, and to expose their preparations to ridicule and contempt: but, without the parade of menace, the disgrace which they had been unable to inflict, was hurled upon them; and the establishment of a rival warrior and a hostile army within that frontier which they supposed to be sacred, proved a rankling thorn in the side of their ruler.

Leaving the capital of Navarre under blockade, the allied troops crossed the Bidassoa, and forced the entrenchments at Andaye and other parts of the frontier. When Oct. 7. the surrender of Pampeluna left the right wing of the army unemployed, the commander in chief made dispositions for an attack upon all the posts near the Nivelle, which the French had fortified with great care and labor. Their right, in the front of St. Jean de Luz, formed the strongest post; and this, it was hoped, might be turned with little difficulty, if the centre should be separated from the left, and subjected to an irresistible impression. In this preparatory service so many hours were employed, that the chief assault was postponed to the next morning: but the enemy prudently retired in the night to an entrenched camp near Bayonne. About 1400 of the French were made prisoners, and artillery and ammunition were captured in abundance, yet not without a considerable loss of lives in the attack. In the ensuing operations, a much greater loss was sustained. The new position had such an appearance of strength, that an assault in front did not promise to be successful. It was therefore resolved by the marquis, that move-

ments should be made toward the Nive, to clear the right bank, and reach the rear of the French. Alarmed at these manœuvres, Soult marched out of his camp with the greater part of his force; and fiercely attacked the left wing of the allies, commanded by sir John Hope, with a view of drawing back the right; but so manly and vigorous was the resistance, that his aim was completely baffled; and his disappointment was aggravated by the conduct of two regiments of Dutch and Germans, who, immediately after the engagement, passed over to the ranks of the allies. Another attempt on this point proved equally fruitless; and a third trial terminated in disgrace. In these defensive actions, the Portuguese displayed the steady courage of well disciplined warriors, and received high praise from the British officers. The marshal then turned his attention to the right wing, and sent a great force to storm its position; but sir Rowland Hill was so well prepared for defence, that, even, before the arrival of a reinforcement, he compelled the enemy to retreat with a great diminution of number. In these conflicts, which occupied five days, 650 of the confederates were killed: above 3900 were wounded; and 500 were reported to be missing. Thus the first fruits of invasion were purchased at a dear rate: but, when honor is obtained, and success smiles upon the progress of the war, soldiers do not keenly regret the loss of their brave associates; and the people for whom they shed their blood, are content to say, that they fell in a glorious cause.

While the defenders of Spain were employed in delivering the country from a foreign yoke, the cortes endeavoured to free the minds of the people from the tyranny of the inquisition. A decree against the holy office could scarcely have been expected from the rooted bigotry of the Spanish nation. The clergy considered that institution as necessary for the preservation of religious purity; and, when it was suppressed by Joseph in those provinces which he ostensibly governed, they reprobated the arbitrary edict as a proof of his ignorance of the Spanish character, and of his contempt of all religion. Although the popular respect for that establishment had in some measure declined, a great part of the community still entertained a favorable opinion of the tribunal, which had for three centuries been incorporated with the hierarchical system. Not deterred by this consideration, the *liberales* (as the less bigoted representatives were styled) declared that the inquisition, being contrary to the constitution of Spain, injurious to religion, and detrimental to the state, ought to be abolished; but the cour-

age of the members did not pass beyond the limits of a vote. The resolution had not its due effect ; for it was subsequently voted, that the propriety of authorising other tribunals, to protect and preserve the purity of the faith, should be referred to a committee ; and the result was a law, ordaining the erection of an episcopal court in every diocese, for the cognisance of heretical delinquency ; accompanied with a declaration, importing that the ancient laws against heretics were in full force. The new courts were proposed to be so constituted, as to diminish the danger of inhuman tyranny : but they held out the prospect of a very imperfect remedy for the evils of the inquisition. The clergy even complained of this feeble attack upon a sacred institution ; and, when the report of the committee was ordered to be read in every church, they refused to obey a mandate which had not received the sanction of the ecclesiastical body. Incensed at this disobedience, the cortes dismissed the regents, to whose weakness they imputed the disrespect with which the legislature had been treated : but even the new appointments were not followed by an enforcement of the law. Some of the bishops, headed by the pope's delegate, strongly opposed it ; and the banishment of the nuncio rather increased than allayed the ferment which the zealots had excited.

The efforts of the assembly for the regeneration of Spain were not so successful as they ought to have been ; and even the reforms which had been enacted were not so far carried into effect, as to be productive of that benefit which might reasonably have been expected. The views of the *liberales* were obstructed by prejudice and bigotry : and the most pernicious and dangerous schemes of religious and political innovation were imputed to those members by their clerical adversaries, who were therefore pleased at the announced expiration of the extraordinary cortes. A new assembly was now summoned for the ordinary purposes of legislation, and for the promotion of just and equitable government.

## LETTER XXVI.

*Continuance of the War between Great Britain and the United States.*

THE abortion of the negotiatory experiment seemed to aggravate and embitter the animosity of the contending powers. To the president and the majority of the congress, the British court imputed the guilt of aggression, and the additional culpability of an obstinate perseverance in flagrant injustice; while the leaders of the American government acrimoniously reprobated that progression of violence and outrage, with which the English had sustained their arrogant and unwarrantable pretensions.

Mr. Madison, being re-elected president by a considerable majority, in preference to Mr. Clinton, whose moderation would not suffer him to be zealous for war, continued to propagate resentment and hostility. In the public harangue which A. D. 1813. attended his inauguration, he declared that the war was "just in its origin, necessary and noble in its objects;" and boasted that it had been waged, on the part of his countrymen, with a scrupulous regard to the precepts of courtesy and humanity, and to the usages of civilized nations, and "in a spirit of liberality which was never surpassed;" asserting, at the same time, that the enemy had pursued a very different course, in menacing the adopted and naturalised members of the political family of the United States with the punishment due to traitors and deserters, in letting loose the blood-thirsty savages upon the opposite ranks of honorable warriors, and in supplying the place of a conquering force by attempts for the dismemberment of a confederated republic. The last instance of unjustifiable conduct, he said, "if it did not belong to a series of unexampled inconsistencies," might excite greater astonishment, as proceeding from a government which founded the very war, so long prosecuted in Europe, on a charge against the "disorganizing and insurrectional policy of its adversary."

Such was the intemperate language by which the republican ruler inflamed the minds of the people, and called their

worst passions into exercise. It cherished and kept alive the flame of war; but it had not an equal effect in all parts of the state; for there were several provinces, particularly the northern territories, in which the people did not conceal their earnest desire of peace.

New attempts were made upon the Canadian province. Brigadier Winchester, advancing with 1000 men, seized French-town, and was proceeding to attack Fort Detroit, when he was encountered by colonel Proctor, who had 500 civilized and 600 savage warriors under his command. He had stationed a part of his force in houses and enclosures which, from a dread of the barbarians, they defended with obstinacy: but, as those feeble posts could not be permanently maintained, the occupants<sup>1</sup> finally surrendered at discretion. The rest of the republican army, in attempting to retreat, suffered almost total destruction from the fury of the savages,<sup>2</sup> whose barbarity ought to have been checked by the superior civilization of their associates.

The operations of this war were not conducted on a large scale. From the smallness of the force which Great Britain sent into the field, it might have been considered as one of the most insignificant powers in Christendom; and the United States, though comparatively feeble, had a numerous and increasing population, which might have furnished a greater mass of disposable force.

Another invasion of Upper Canada was not so unsuccessful as Winchester's attempt. Major-general Dearborn, being informed that the town of York was weakly garrisoned, marched against it with above 2000 men, and, being aided by a flotilla on lake Ontario, enforced the surrender of an important post.

After the transfer of Louisiana to France by a secret article of the treaty concluded with Spain in the year 1802, that ill-peopled but useful territory had been purchased by the United States: but, in fixing its limits, they had encroached, in the opinion of the Spaniards, upon the province of West Florida. Hence had arisen disputes, which were not yet accommodated. A particular object of contest was the fortress of Mobile, against which major-general Harrison sent a detachment. The demand of an immediate surrender had a speedy effect, though the Spaniards possessed the means of a long defence.

This was an act which had no connexion with the existing

<sup>1</sup> About 500 in number.

<sup>2</sup> The commander coolly says, that the retiring soldiers were, as he believed, "all, or with very few exceptions, killed by the Indians."



war ; but it served to evince the spirit of the American government, and its imitation of the selfish and encroaching practices of European nations. That spirit, in some instances, degenerated into malice and cruelty ; for it appears, from a proclamation of the president that it was declared lawful, by an act of the congress, for any persons to use "torpedoes, sub-marine instruments, or any other destructive machines whatever," against British armed vessels ; and it is said,<sup>3</sup> that a schooner was left to invite seizure, having casks of gun-powder concealed under a stock of provisions, subject to mechanical explosion. These practices were vindicated, but not justified or excused, by the brutality of that government which had brought forward the tomahawk and the scalping-knife, to aid the operations of the musquet and the cannon.

During the campaign, a prospect of peace arose ; but it was faint and distant. The emperor of Russia, being the friend of both powers, offered his mediation ; and, as "his high character was a satisfactory pledge for the sincerity and impartiality of his offer," it was readily accepted by the president, who commissioned three distinguished citizens to treat with British plenipotentiaries at Petersburg, and at the same time gave instructions for the adjustment of a commercial treaty with Russia. As it was not expected that this interposition would be efficacious in allaying the animosity of the Americans, it was declined by the British court.

The lakes and the neighbouring posts were, at this time, the chief scenes of hostility. Colonel Proctor, being aware of the enemy's intention of attacking him as soon as a reinforcement should arrive, resolved to assault a fortified station near Lake Erie ; but, when he reached the mouth of the Miamis, he found the Americans so strongly entrenched and covered, that all the fire of his batteries could not make the desired impression. While he remained in suspense at this station, his men were exposed, on both sides of the river, to a sudden and violent attack. About 1300 men, commanded by brigadier Clay, had descended the stream in the hope of overwhelming the besiegers, who were also harrassed by a simultaneous *sortie* from the fort. Even the batteries of the British commander were seized by the foe ; but the vigor with which he inspired the troops enabled them to turn the tide of triumph. He had not 1000 men under his immediate authority ; but the deficiency was supplied by a body of sav-

ages, whose courage and activity (he says) contributed largely to his success. About 1000 of the Americans were killed, wounded or captured.

Near the head of Lake Ontario, a strong body of Americans disembarked, and attacked Fort George, which all the efforts of colonel Vincent could not maintain. At Sacket's harbour, on the same lake, an attempt was made upon the fort both by land and water, but the courage of the enemy secured it from every assault. Fortune was more favourable to the English in the nocturnal attack of a camp, which, though it was defended by a great superiority of number, was gallantly forced; and a more considerable advantage was obtained near Queen's-town, in the surrender of a detachment sent out by major-general Dearborn for the interception of British supplies.

Some naval engagements occurred on the lakes. On that of Ontario, Sir James Yeo could not effectually prevail over captain Chauncey; and, on Lake Erie, Barclay found an able opponent in Perry, with whose squadron he had a close conflict. Each attributed to the opposing commodore a superiority of force; but it does not appear that the disparity was considerable. The chief American vessel, though disabled, was not captured, because the Canadians were too fully employed to take advantage of the apparent surrender. When both parties had sustained a severe loss, five British vessels, of which only two are dignified by the appellation of *ships*, fell into the power of the enemy.<sup>4</sup>

This misfortune did not efface the glory which the British marine had acquired in an engagement near the port of Boston. Broke, commander of the Shannon, having long watched the Chesapeake frigate, beheld with joy its approach to action. He had only 330 against 440 men; and, in the weight of metal, the enemy had a very great advantage: but no consideration of hostile superiority could discourage his men, who, after a short firing, boarded the American ship, and subdued all opposition. Seventy-nine were killed or wounded in the Shannon, and one hundred and seventy in the Chesapeake. Captain Broke, who first leaped into that vessel, received great personal injury; and Lawrence, the republican commander, died of his wounds. The enemy's success on Lake Erie was followed by a recovery of the whole Michigan territory, except Michilimachi-

<sup>4</sup> Sir George Prevost says, that the victory, in this case, was only wrested from the English "by the unfortunate loss of the services of Captain Barclay," (who was wounded) "and of almost every other officer of the squadron, leaving a crew without competent controul or command."

nac ; and it encouraged Harrison to advance into Upper Canada with confident hopes of advantage. Major-general Proctor, being too weak to withstand the invaders, dismantled several posts, and destroyed the stores ; and, being attacked in his retreat, he escaped with difficulty, securing less than one half of his force. The Americans said that above 600 of his men were captured.

As both powers, soon after, increased their armies, it was expected that some great exploits would be performed. Major-general Hampton, having collected above 7000 men, made an irruption into Lower Canada ; and his advanced guard endeavoured to overpower the provincial troops posted near the Chateaugay : but the defence was so spirited, that the assailants, who were greatly superior in number, were repelled with loss and disgrace. With a view of rendering this invasion more effectual, Wilkinson having embarked on Lake Ontario with a considerable force, proceeded down the river St. Lawrence, and had nearly reached Prescott, before his progress was observed. A violent cannonade then harrassed the advancing armament ; but it did not discourage the general, who sent brigadier Boyd, with above 3000 men, to attack a corps which lieutenant-colonel Morrison commanded on the Canadian side of the river. The Americans first assaulted the left wing, but could not disorder its ranks : the right withstood their efforts with equal firmness ; and the whole line, not exceeding the amount of 1000 men, at length defeated the invaders at all points. In consequence of this serious repulse, the enemy postponed to another year the expected reduction of Montreal.

The impulse which had been given by this contest to the warlike spirit of the savages, involved the republicans in those hostilities which they more particularly dreaded. Not only the tribes to the north-west of the United States, but those hordes which occupied the territory to the westward of the southern provinces, were engaged in a war with the enemies of Great Britain. Expeditions were undertaken for the chastisement of these ferocious warriors ; and the Creeks, among others, felt the resentment of the neighbouring provincials.

When the congress had another session, the president could not boast with truth, that the campaign had been uniformly successful ; but he said, that its progress, in addition to the importance of the naval success, had been filled with incidents highly honorable to the American arms. He could not be insensible of the calamities with which war is

attended ; but he consoled himself by reflecting, that, if it had increased the interruptions of commerce, it had cherished and multiplied manufactures ; that if it had given a latitude to spoliations on the ocean, and to predatory excursions on the land, it had developed the best means of retaliating the former, and of providing protection against the latter ; and that the result promised a greater respect, on the part of foreign nations, for the rights of the republic, and a longer duration of future peace than could be expected without the signal proofs which had been exhibited of the national spirit and resources.

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### LETTER XXVII.

*View of Public Affairs, and of the Progress of extended Hostilities, to the Capitulation of Paris.*

THE glorious incidents which had diffused joy over the continent, excited correspondent emotions in Great Britain. Every patriotic subject, every advocate of justice and equity, every friend of peace, predicted the ultimate success of the confederate princes, and looked forward to the ruin of the tyrant. A. D. 1813.

In addressing the two houses, the prince regent congratulated them on the decided conviction which happily prevailed throughout so large a portion of Europe, that the war was the result of necessity, and that the "views of universal dominion," entertained by the ruler of France, "could only be defeated by combined and determined resistance." Nov. 4.  
As a relaxation of vigor, at this crisis, might have promoted the views of the common enemy, it was proposed by the ministry, that the disposable force of the country should be augmented, and the militia be encouraged by a liberal premium to enlist in the regular army, or (if that should be disagreeable to their feelings) to serve on the continent for a limited period. A bill to this effect was quickly enacted ; and the call was answered with zealous alacrity. At the same time, to promote the exertions of the allied princes, six millions were allowed,

beside four millions for the service of the peninsula. These grants were voted with unanimity; for even Mr. Whitbread, being of opinion that peace would soon be obtained by the efforts of so formidable a coalition, relinquished his opposition to the military and subsidiary system of the court. The loud tones of complaint, and the harsh accents of censure, ceased to be heard; and harmony was the order of the day.

So quietly were the parliamentary proceedings conducted, and every point which was suggested was so easily gained, that, instead of proposing an adjournment to the beginning of Dec. 20. the ensuing year, the ministers gratified the members with an unusual prolongation of the recess; and, when the two houses re-assembled in the spring, the debates were not very interesting or important, with an exception of those which related to the forcible occupation of Norway. That arbitrary arrangement reflected disgrace on the allies. It could only be vindicated on the plea of expediency; for rectitude formed no part of the question. The earl of Harrowby defended it with the loose causistry of a modern statesman, adducing such arguments as the most inexpert academical logician, or even an uninformed peasant, would justly pronounce to be weak and inconclusive. In both houses, however, the motions for addressing the prince regent on the subject were rejected by large majorities.<sup>1</sup> Every honourable and virtuous citizen lamented the fate to which the Norwegians were exposed: but all foresaw that it would be useless to resist the torrent.

The proceedings of the senate and representative body in France, were calculated for a vigorous continuance of that war which a just prince would have averted by manifesting a sincere desire of peace. It was decreed that 300,000 conscripts should be at the disposal of the government, ready to ward off the storm of invasion. Some of the imposts were doubled, and others heavily augmented; and these demands were declared to be necessary for enabling the army to obstruct the dangerous views of the allies, who intended to dismember France. By this falsehood, the ministers endeavoured to rouse the people to a defence of the country, when their zeal might otherwise have declined.

However great were the preparations for another campaign, Napoleon could not conceal from himself the peril with which he was menaced. He feelingly lamented the secession of the

<sup>1</sup> Of 81 in one house, and 158 in the other..



princes who had lately co-operated with him, and began to think that his ambition had over-shot the mark at which he aimed. In a moment of pride, he had declared that he would not condescend to court the people by urging them to identify their interests with those of their sovereign, and to meet the dangers of the crisis; but, in haranguing the legislative body, he regretted the necessity of demanding new sacrifices from a generous nation; while he trusted that a regard for the honor and security of France would invigorate the exertions of defensive zeal. He wished for a great display of strength, because, without an imposing aspect, there was no chance of obtaining favorable terms of peace. The offer of the allies to treat, he said, had induced him to consent to a negotiation; and it was proposed that plenipotentiaries should be sent to Mannheim: but a delay, not imputable to him, had occurred in this interesting concern. On his side, he assured the members there were no obstacles to the restoration of peace: but the falsehood of this assertion was soon apparent. However strong might be his allegations of pacific views, it was his firm resolution to retain, almost in their whole extent, the French conquests and usurpations. Dec. 19.

The declaration from Frankfort, which had suggested to Napoleon the idea of negotiation, did not give general satisfaction. The promise of allowing, to the malignant and restless disturber of the peace of Europe, the cool destroyer of human life and the determined enemy of human happiness, a greater dominion than the French kings had enjoyed, excited strong disgust. To conclude peace with such a man, was to give him an opportunity of violating it, and to prepare him for a renewal of mischief: to suffer him to reign, after the horrible course which he had pursued, was an encouragement of wickedness and atrocity, and an insult to outraged humanity. In such a cause, it was the duty of every state to interfere, and to insist upon the dethronement of an arbitrary usurper, who had subverted the small remains of feeling, honor, and virtue, which the revolution had left to the French, and had armed them against all other nations. The commencement of the war against him<sup>2</sup> was not so strictly justifiable; but the incidents and circumstances which arose in its progress, and the full development of his flagitious character, imparted, to the continuance of hostilities, the sanction of equity.

After the late success of the allies, it required little prepara-

2 In the year 1803.

tion to bring their troops within the limits of France. Blucher, who, beside the grand army of Prussia, had under his command some Russian and Saxon divisions, commenced the new year with an invasion of Napoleon's territories. General Bistram led the way ; and, having forced the entrenchments near the Lahn, he crossed the Rhine, and took possession of Coblenz. Baron Sacken passed over near Mannheim, and count Langeron near Bingen ; and, in three days the invaders slew or captured 1500 men. They were received with joy by the people : the *douaniers* fled in consternation ; and trade was restored between the French and German districts. Thus encouraged, the army prosecuted its march to Moselle, and thence to the Marne, without any serious opposition.

The Austrian army, strengthened by Russian and Bavarian divisions, and by the troops of Wirtemberg, invaded Alsace, under the direction of the prince of Schwartzemberg, who so far distributed his force as to threaten, at the same moment, Nancy, Langres, and Lyons. While he was making arrangements for a speedy co-operation with Blucher, Alexander and his Prussian ally crossed the Rhine near Basle, with their respective bodies of reserve. Count Witgenstein, with a strong corps of Cosacks, had already passed ; and some spirited conflicts had occurred, in which the Bavarian general De Roy, the prince of Wirtemberg, and count Platoff, particularly distinguished themselves.

It was pretended by the emissaries of the government, that the apparent acquiescence of the French in the progress of the invaders, arose from a pre-concerted plan, by which they hoped to draw their enemies into the heart of the country, so as to enable themselves more effectually to crush them. But this neglect may more reasonably be attributed to the disorder of the administration, the weakness and insubordination of the frontier troops, and the want of a firm dependence on the exertions of the new conscripts. Napoleon, however, if he at first entertained the idea of connivance, soon became sensible of the necessity of checking the advance of his foes. He knew that their resentment was directed more against him than against the people ; and he was now convinced, that, if he wished to preserve his power, he must identify himself as much as possible with the nation. He therefore labored with the most strenuous zeal to produce an universal opposition to the intruders, whom he accused of aiming at the dismemberment of France ; and, when a considerable force had been

collected between the Seine and the Marne, he took the field with an appearance of animation, and a seeming confidence in the justice of his cause.

When he found that marshal Mortier had been attacked at Bar-sur-Aube, and constrained to retire, he did not scruple to pervert the truth, by affirming, that the French were victorious; and it was announced to the Parisians, that this first advantage had electrified the army with joy. On his approach to St. Dizier, which the Prussians had seized, he ordered that village to be assaulted; and, as it was occupied only by a small force, it was re-taken without extraordinary difficulty. This trivial exploit was extolled in the usual style of French exaggeration.

Brienne, the seat of that military school which called Bonaparte its *eleve*, was the scene of a more important conflict. Being defied by the enemy, Blucher readily accepted the challenge; and the engagement was maintained without drawing upon either party the imputation of an exposure of pusillanimity. The allies endeavoured to profit by the deficiency of cavalry on the part of the French; but they gave in their turn an advantage to their adversaries, by attending less to the defence of the castle than to the operations of the field. An officer, detached by marshal Victor, was thus gratified with an opportunity of taking that post in the night. Either (as the writer of the French account affirms) by the torches of the confederates, or from the vivid fire of the artillery incessantly played by the assailants, the town was involved in flames; and, in the consequent confusion, the troops of Blucher retreated, but not before they had made a vigorous effort to retake the castle.<sup>3</sup>

Another trial of strength and courage quickly followed. Having received a reinforcement from the prince of Schwartzberg, the Prussian commander advanced with about 75,000 men, and engaged a nearly equal number of the enemy, at La-Rothiere and other posts. That village formed the centre and the key of the French position: the right wing was stationed at Dienville, and the left at Chaumenil and Giberie; and the cavalry occupied an intervening plain. The prince of Wirtemberg strenuously contended with marshal Victor; drove him from the left; was dislodged in his turn; recovered and maintained the post. Count Guilay attacked the right, but could not force it before midnight.

<sup>3</sup> Campagne de Paris, par Giraud.

Sacken's movements were directed against the centre; and, with great difficulty and loss, he expelled the enemy from La-Rothiere, which he defended against a personal attempt of Napoleon for its recovery. After a considerable loss, the French made a retrograde movement to Troyes and Arcis.

The Austrian and Prussian armies continued their advance toward Paris in different directions. Schwartzberg proceeded along the banks of the Seine, while Blucher chiefly guided his course by the Marne. General von Yorck overtook the rear guard of Macdonald's army, and gained such an advantage as led to the capture of Chalons. Bonaparte having retreated to Nogent, Troyes was easily taken by the prince of Wirtemberg, who also reduced Sens to submission.

Alarmed at the progress of Blucher, whose troops were within three marches from the French capital, Napoleon, whose reputation had visibly declined, and whose genius was supposed to have deserted him, resolved to make a bold attempt for the retrieval of his credit. An opportunity of signal success seemed to be afforded to his eager hopes by the wide separation of one corps from another. He attacked and defeated, at Champ-Aubert, the division of general Alsufief, too distantly situated to be seasonably assisted; and boasted that, out of 8000 men, only 1500 escaped; but the falsehood of the assertion was evident. Sacken advanced to oppose the victors; and his division, aided by that of Yorck, fought with obstinacy at Montmirail, but could not ensure a triumph. The hostile leader affirmed that, in this battle, the Russians and their associates fled in the greatest confusion: but, according to a British officer,<sup>4</sup> the two armies remained at the close of the engagement, in their respective positions. Upon an impartial consideration of the different statements, it appears that the enemy had the advantage, and that, on the following day, farther success attended a vigorous pursuit.

Blucher, who had remained inactive near Vertus during these three days of conflict, roused himself when he was apprised of the advance of Marmont, and, attacking that commander at Etoges, compelled him to retire. Recalled by this movement from the pursuit of Sacken and Yorck, Bonaparte resolved to risque another engagement. He stopped the retreating marshal, and encouraged him to turn upon the foe at Vauchamp. The battle which ensued was, almost entirely, a contest between the French cavalry

and the allied infantry. The former made a furious assault which the latter coolly resisted by the formation of squares, presenting on every side a firm front. So destructive was the fire from these compact bodies, which were supported by the occasional charges of a small number of horsemen, that the French sometimes recoiled in disorder; but, being amply reinforced, they made such bold and direct attacks, that Blücher found a retreat expedient and even necessary. For more than three leagues, his men were incessantly harrassed by their pursuers: yet we are assured that not a single square was broken.<sup>5</sup> At sunset, a strong body of cavalry made a circuit, and endeavoured to stop the retreat in front; but even this alarming movement did not discourage those who were determined to break through every obstacle. The artillery, being admirably served, opened such a fire as concurred with well-directed volleys of musquetry to clear the line of march; and, although a body of infantry at Etoges flanked the squares, and made considerable havock, the bulk of the harrassed army escaped to Bergeres. In such a retreat, the loss may be supposed to have been very great; and it is more than probable that the killed, wounded, and prisoners, exceeded the amount of 5500.

Bonaparte, elate with this success, turned his arms with redoubled confidence against the prince of Schwartzemberg, who had sent detachments within forty miles of Paris, and had driven the enemy even from the left bank of the Seine. Count Witgenstein was now attacked, at Nangis, by a force which he was too weak to withstand. As his loss was considerable, and as count Wrede was also dislodged from Villeneuve, the prince recalled his troops to the right bank. Three attacks were made upon that part of his army which occupied Montereau and its vicinity; and all were repelled by the prince of Wirtemberg: but a fourth assault compelled him to retreat, without allowing him an opportunity of destroying the bridge, over which the French passed in great force.

Blücher, sensible of the danger of a march not sufficiently connected with the progress of the Austrian army, was advancing in the direction of Troyes, for the purpose of more effectual co-operation. At a time when the French pretended that only a wreck remained of his numerous army, he marched from Chalons with above 55,000 men, eager to chastise the

<sup>5</sup> Colonel Lowe's Letter.—The French narrator of the action says, on the contrary, that the squares were totally broken.



insolent and boastful partisans of the Corican. His movements were watched by the marshals Marmont and Mortier, who did not, however, seriously molest him. He had only reached Meri upon the Seine, when Troyes was evacuated by the Austrians on the approach of Napoleon, who, from his headquarters in that city, fulminated a vindictive proclamation, not only against all Frenchmen who accompanied the invading armies, but against all who, in the places occupied by the enemy, had worn the white cockade, or any other badge of the house of Bourbon.

The prince of Schwartzenberg continued to retreat, but without the least appearance of disorder. As soon as an opportunity offered itself, he resumed an offensive attitude; and judiciously directing the operations of the Russian troops, dislodged the French from all the positions on this side of the Aube. He detached the prince of Wirtemberg with instructions to attack marshal Macdonald, who was repelled with little difficulty. Aiming at the re-possession of Troyes, he advanced against Oudinot, who had taken such positions as seemed favourable to the defence of that city. These stations were quickly gained; 3000 men were made prisoners; and the surrender of the town was the result of this success.

Still anxious to prevent a junction between the Austrian and Prussian armies, Bonaparte marched against Blucher, and constrained him to alter his *route*; but, when general Winzingerode had intimidated the commandant of Soissons into a surrender, and his division and that of Bulow had reinforced the field-marshal, he resolved to make a grand effort for victory. While his force extended from Laffaux to Craone, Soissons was assaulted with great fury. The enemy seized the greater part of the suburbs, and from the unroofed houses, kept up an incessant fire on the Russians, who occupied the other portion, and also on those who manned the walls of the town: but their exertions were rendered fruitless by the obstinacy of the defence. Bonaparte now crossed the Aisne, and attacked the left with such vigor as to make a considerable impression; the consequence of which, after no small loss, was a retreat to Laon. In the front of that town, Blucher concentrated his army, which considerably outnumbered the French host. Bulow's division occupied the town itself and an adjacent conical hill: the corps of Winzingerode, Sacken, and Langeron, formed the right; and the left positions were defended by Yorck and Kleist. Before daylight, when March 9. the darkness was increased by a thick fog, the ene-

my commenced the attack, and seized two villages, from which the fire of the small arms could reach Laon. Amidst this obscurity, the battle raged for many hours, the right and the centre of the allies rather gaining than losing ground. As soon as the day became clear, the field-marshal ordered the cavalry to move from the rear, and turn the left flank of the French; but the irregularity of the ground, and other difficulties, prevented the accomplishment of that operation. In the mean time, a numerous body of infantry, not unsupported by cavalry, marched against the left of the confederates, pouring a dreadful fire from forty pieces of artillery. To assist in the repulsion of this attack, troops were sent from other parts of the field, where the vigor of conflict began to decline; and the whole phalanx so firmly sustained the assault, and so ably profited by the first moment of advantage, which a charge of cavalry presented, that the enemy fled at night in confusion and terror. A brisk pursuit was carried on during the night, leading to numerous captures: but, the next morning, those divisions which had not retreated, again engaged the centre and the right; and the villages and small woods were the scenes of spirited conflicts. No great disparity of fortune appeared on this day before the approach of evening; but then a select body advanced to a village near the walls, and, failing in the attempt to storm it, retreated in disorder, after the loss of many brave men. Napoleon, who had been cautioned by some of his generals against the attack of Laon, now lamented that he had not taken the advice, and retired to Soissons, which had been lately recovered. For his disappointment in the result of these actions, he received some consolation at Rheims. This city had been taken by the allies; but it was re-captured by Marmont and Merlin, while he viewed the operations from a neighbouring hill. Pleased with the sight of a multitude of prisoners, and flattered with the congratulations of the citizens, he rested for some days from his military labours. The Austrian general was preparing to resume his march to Paris, when he was checked by the intelligence of this event.

While the destiny of France was yet unascertained, the war exhibited some striking features in other scenes of action. The prince of Sweden, pursuing the great object of extinguishing the French interest in the north of Germany and in Denmark, met with rapid success; and, after a series of military advantages, he intimidated the Danish court into a treaty of peace and alliance. He even procured an explicit assent to the transfer of Norway, upon the mere prom- Jan. 17.

ise of eventual compensation. After an active campaign, he stationed his troops in the Netherlands, and, with anxious attention, observed the progress of the grand army, keeping the Belgians in awe, and preparing himself for offensive operations, as occasion might require. The British troops, in that territory, were commanded by sir Thomas Graham, with whom general Bulow and a Prussian division co-operated. From some posts near Antwerp, the French were dislodged; but the rigors of the season, and the want of a proper supply of artillery, suggested the propriety of forbearance with regard to a place of such strength. After some weeks of inaction, sir Thomas was induced to make an attempt for the reduction of Bergen-op-Zoom. He sent four columns on that hazardous service. Two of these divisions mounted the ramparts, and one even entered the body of the place: but the defence was so spirited, that the rash assailants suffered considerable loss, and about 1800 were obliged to surrender.

In the south-west of France, the marquis of Wellington resumed offensive operations by the seizure of posts, which, in that part of the country, were numerous. Near Orthez, the attack was particularly spirited, and the resistance obstinate; but the division of sir Rowland Hill prevailed. The enemy did not merely retire, but fled in the utmost confusion; and so great was the discouragement which ensued, that desertion from the ranks became very frequent. The whole army passed the Adour, notwithstanding its swollen state; and the citadel of Bayonne was closely invested.

The progress of the allies, in this part of France, although their commander had not declared his sentiments in favor of the house of Bourbon, encouraged the friends of the exiled family to assert those claims which were more entitled to general support than the pretensions of a base adventurer. At the close of the preceding year, strong symptoms of discontent had been manifested in La Vendee; and many conscripts had refused to march, even opposing by force the attempts of the soldiery to fix them in the ranks. Dreading a civil war at such a crisis, the government relaxed its rigor in that part of the country, and indulged the people with an abatement of the various demands for the public service. These concessions, and the prospect of a treaty between the allies and the usurper, kept the provincials quiet for a time; but they communicated to each other their wishes for a subversion of the existing government, and anxiously waited for an opportunity of testifying their loyal zeal. The marquis de la Roche-Jaquelein, whose

name was a passport to the favour of the Vendéans, wished to appear among them, that he might make secret arrangements for a revolt : but his person was so well known, that his friends alleged the danger of his being discovered in his journey ; and M. Jagault, who was equally attached to the royal family, undertook a tour of observation through many of the departments. M. Lynch privately promoted the same cause at Paris, assuring the Polignac family, that, if the inhabitants of Bourdeaux (of which city he was the chief magistrate) should be disposed to concur in the elevation of Louis to the throne, he would be the first to assume the white cockade.

Bourdeaux took the lead in promoting a counter-revolution. The marquis, after the return of the mayor, concerted a speedy insurrection, dependent upon the co-operation of the British general and the duke of Angoulême, which he had no doubt of securing. The duke was then at St. Jean de Luz, where he was visited by the marquis and M. Queyriaux, who, in the name of a royal council recently formed, requested his presence at Bourdeaux. Pleased at the zeal of the citizens for the interest of his family, and at the favourable intelligence which his two friends gave him of the popular disposition in other parts of France, he expressed his joy in strong terms. The deputies proceeded to the head-quarters of the marquis of Wellington, who, not having then gained the battle of Orthez, declined an immediate interference. Another deputy being sent to inform the general that Bourdeaux was unoccupied by the troops of Napoleon, and the late victory having contributed to open the direct road to that city, he ordered sir William Beresford to take possession of it. On the Mar. 12. approach of the detachment, the council requested that no foreign troops might be suffered to appear within the walls, before the royalists had completed their arrangements. The mayor then advanced with his municipal associates and royal guard, to meet the field marshal, whom he thus addressed : "If you are prepared to enter Bourdeaux as a conqueror, I will submissively deliver up the keys, because I have not the means of defence : but, if you wish to be admitted in the names of the king of France and his British ally, I will surrender my trust with joy, and receive you with unfeigned gratitude." Sir William replied, that he considered himself as entering an allied city, obedient to Louis XVIII. ; and he promised all the assistance which the army could afford for the support of the royal interest. The troops now marched into

the city, and were hailed as friends and protectors. While the people were exulting at this unusual scene, the king's nephew, escorted by a guard of honour, made his appearance, and was received with the most enthusiastic transports.<sup>6</sup>

An apprehension of the speedy ruin of Napoleon had induced one of his vassal kings to desert him. Murat, in the hope of securing his usurpation, entered into an alliance with the Austrian emperor, with whose army in Italy he engaged to co-operate. Eugene Beauharnois, not being disposed to follow the example of revolt, resolutely opposed the troops of Francis ; but, after some sanguinary conflicts, they baffled his efforts, and maintained their superiority near the Mincio. Murat afterward attacked general Grenier with success ; and after gaining other advantages, he penetrated, but not without considerable loss, to Placentia.

In the mean time, the fate of France was decided. Dreading the advance of the prince of Schwartzenburg, who was attended in his progress by Alexander and the king of Prussia, and followed by the Austrian emperor, Napoleon returned from the Aisne to the Aube, while his adversaries retreated before him : but, when he had posted himself at Arcis, they did not suffer him to remain long unmolested. He fancied that he sufficiently secured his interest by alternately opposing each army. Neither of the chief commanders, however, felt any serious discouragement. Both pressed forward to the same object ; and Blucher, in particular, was inspired with all the animation of the most ardent zeal. He had apprehended the regular completion of a treaty which had for some time been discussed at Chatillon ; and, as he had no doubt that it would quickly be violated by the restless and perfidious tyrant whom it tended to restrain within the limits of order and forbearance, he exulted in the discontinuance and failure of the negotiation. In a proclamation which he had issued during the conferences, he had expressed his firm confidence of ulterior and final success ; had warned the French of the inutility of resistance ; and severely condemned that folly and blindness which suffered them to be duped by the deceptions and artful instigations of an unprincipled ruler, who, without feeling for any one but himself, continued to sacrifice their lives and property at the shrine of ambition and false glory. Their sovereign alone, said the veteran, threw obstacles in the way of peace, and was willing (he might have added,) with desperate

<sup>6</sup> Supplement aux Memoires de Madame la Marquise de la Roche-Jaquelein.



phrensy, to incur the risque of losing all, rather than resign any part of his acquisitions. He might have retained, with the consent of Europe, a great and flourishing monarchy; but, instead of abandoning its ill-gotten spoils and appendages in Germany and Italy, of which the allies insisted upon the dereliction, he resolved to persist in the war, in the vain hope of dictating the terms of pacification. He was so weak as to be elevated by partial and trifling success: he trusted to his high fame, and his influence over a servile nation; and he rejected with scorn such terms as were only censurable for the unmerited advantages which they afforded to a base usurper, who ought to have been deprived of all power, and excluded from the pale of civil society.

It was fortunate for Europe that his pride was so pertinaacious, and that his infatuation rendered him so intractable. His dethronement was the wish of every advocate of honour and humanity, and every friend of peace; and even a short continuance of the war promised that result. A proper direction of the great mass of strength, armed and embodied against the tyrant's authority, could not fail to produce the most beneficial effects, unless fortune should be peculiarly adverse to the cause of justice and of social order.

The exertions of the Austrian army were now directed to the recovery of the command of the Aube and Seine. The courage and skill of the prince of Wirtemberg contributed to the success of an engagement near Arcis, in which the enemy suffered a severe loss. Driven from that post, Bonaparte moved against Vitry, which was then occupied by a Prussian garrison. Being unable to procure an immediate surrender of the town, he advanced still farther to the eastward, and thus placed himself on the right of the principal army, which, he hoped, would be intimidated into a retreat, by the danger of losing its communications: but the ill-judged movement produced an opposite effect, unless we suppose that the result would have been nearly the same, even if he had not advanced to such a distance from the capital.

Having marched back to Vitry, on pretence of pursuing Napoleon, the Austrian general prepared for the execution of his grand scheme, and made arrangements for a junction with the army of Blücher. One division immediately advanced from Chalons for that purpose; and the field marshal soon placed the rest of his force within the limits of easy co-operation. About 200,000 men were thus put in motion for a march to Paris.

This memorable march was conducted with circumspection and judgment. The cavalry led the way, moving toward Sezanne; and three great columns of infantry followed. A considerable corps moved slowly in the rear, to provide against a surprisal, and to secure the means of supply; and Winzingerode was detached with 10,000 horse to observe, amuse, and employ Napoleon.

Between the metropolis and the advancing host, there only remained one army; and the small amount of this force rendered it unable to stem that torrent of invasion, which rolled so forcibly toward Paris. Marmont and Mortier were moving to co-operate with their harrassed emperor, with whose immediate object and recent movements, however, they were unacquainted; and, when they were approaching Vitry, which they supposed to be possessed by their friends, they found themselves exposed to the danger of ruin. Being fiercely  
Mar. 25. attacked by the Wirtemberg cavalry, they began to retreat: by a Russian corps under the grand duke Constantine, they were still more vigorously charged, and driven with great loss through Fere Champenoise. A detached column of 5000 men, belonging to the army of the two marshals, soon after appeared to the right, conducting copious supplies; and some of Blücher's squadrons were observed to be in its rear. Alexander and Frederic eagerly displayed, on this occasion, their zeal and courage, and directed the operations which led to the encompassment of the column. Although it consisted of new levies and of detachments from the national guard, the men defended themselves with great spirit, and refused to surrender before a battery of Russian artillery, and repeated charges of horse, menaced them with destruction.<sup>7</sup>

This conflict seemed to decide the fate of Paris. The allies continued their march without opposition, but such as they could easily quell. Before their right wing reached Meaux, a body of the national guard, encouraged and assisted by a party of veterans, made a show of resistance; and the passage of the Marne was disputed at Triport. These attempts did not long delay the progress of the invaders, who crossed the river on temporary bridges. At Clay, Yorck's division suffered some loss, but severely chastised those who continued to resist. Leaving Wrede and Sacken in position at Meaux, where the retreating soldiers had blown up a large magazine of pow-

<sup>7</sup> Letters of Lord Burghersh and Sir Charles Stewart, in the London Gazette Extraordinary of April 5.

der, the confederate generals at length advanced within view of Paris.

The adherents of the despot had frequently derided the presumption of his enemies, for entertaining the hope of reducing the metropolis, and had affected to prognosticate the ruin of the besieging army : but the allies were not deterred from the attempt by such idle gasconade. They knew that the orders for the erection of many new works had been only executed in part, and that the city was incapable of a long defence ; and, even if the fortifications had been much more extensive and formidable than they really were, the advancing troops would not have despaired of success.

Joseph Bonaparte nominally conducted the defensive preparations ; but, when the two fugitive marshals had arrived with all the force which they could collect, he resigned the direction to their superior skill and judgment. Little dependence, on this occasion, could be reposed on the national guard ; and the regular troops were not sufficiently numerous for the defence of so large a city. The principal posts were those of Mont-martre, Belleville, and Romainville ; which, with Pantin and other stations, employed 150 pieces of artillery.

Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, being ordered to commence the attack, directed his attention to the heights of Romainville ; and, after being exposed for some hours to a very Mar. 30. galling fire, he stormed the post, the enemy retiring to Belleville. His brother attacked Vincennes, and met with similar success. General Rieffski gained possession of Belleville by spirited perseverance ; and Pantin was taken by the Prussians at the point of the bayonet. Blucher more particularly superintended the reduction of Mont-martre. To facilitate this object, he sent a strong division to take or to blockade Saint Denis, and to seize Aubervilliers. At both these posts, a manly resistance was made. In the mean time, the defenders of La Villette tried the effect of a charge of cavalry, not without the support of infantry and artillery : but this opposition was baffled by the vigor of Woronzoff. The allies had already offered to treat with the enemy, that the farther effusion of blood might be avoided. Marmont, who had haughtily refused to receive any proposals, now consented to listen to reasonable offers, as Mont-martre was on the point of being stormed, and as only the feeble palisaded barriers remained to check the intrusion of foreign arms. Satisfied with that capitulation which could now be enforced, the allied princes were not so inhuman as to wish to take vengeance on the Parisians for the horrible

outrages which their countrymen had perpetrated in Germany and Russia, and in the peninsula. They readily granted an armistice ; and the terms of surrender were soon adjusted. It was agreed that the troops of the two marshals should retire from the city in the morning, with their equipage and baggage ; that hostilities should not re-commence before the lapse of two hours from their retreat ; and that the national and municipal guards should remain on their present footing, or be disbanded, at the discretion of the allied powers, to whose generosity, by a particular article, the city was recommended.<sup>8</sup>

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## LETTER XXVIII.

*Survey of the Politics of Europe, comprehending the Abdication of Napoleon, and the Restoration of the House of Bourbon to the Thrones both of France and Spain.*

THE subjugation of Babylon did not, perhaps, excite a greater sensation in the ancient world, than the fall of Paris in our own time. Both cities were immersed in luxury, corruption, profligacy, and vice ; and the rulers of both, with the apparent acquiescence of the citizens, had long exercised the most oppressive tyranny over other states. To check such a career was both the duty and interest of every community which had been brought within the vortex of oppression ; and the joy of success was proportioned to the magnitude of the enterprize.

A. D. 1814. Alexander and Frederic now made a triumphal entry into that capital, into which the former opposers of the French revolution had not dared to penetrate. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the tyrant's emissaries to excite resistance or tumult, the princes and their troops moved forward uninsulted and unmolested ; and the procession (says

<sup>8</sup> London Gazette.—Campagne de Paris.—About 7500 men are said to have been killed or wounded on the part of the allies, in storming the different positions ; while the French, being better protected, suffered much less injury.

a French, writer) even assumed the character of a festival. Joy seemed to animate the countenance of every spectator. Even the appearance of an invading army was hailed as a blessing. The northern potentate was applauded and extolled as the liberator of France from an odious despotism, and the beneficent restorer of peace and justice. Many voices were heard in the throng, calling for the re-establishment of the house of Bourbon; and the white cockade began to supercede the *tri-color* badge of usurpation, tyranny and war.

This friendly reception of those who had so lately been considered and treated as the enemies of France, announced the subversion of the power of Napoleon. As soon as he was informed of the dreaded junction of the two armies, he returned to the westward; but as the nearest route was unsafe, his approach to Paris was delayed until the capitulation had been signed. His indignation and regret at the surrender assumed the appearance of rage and phrenzy. His emotions were so violent that he scarcely knew what he said or did. He accused the marshals of having betrayed him, inveighed against the cowardice of the Parisians, and promised, to his followers, the liberty of pillaging the city. He denounced vengeance against all his enemies, and declared that he would not relinquish his power but with his life.

While he was eagerly employed at Fontainebleau in the augmentation of his army, a provisional government was formed at Paris, without the least regard to his authority. The Russian emperor declaring that the allies would not condescend to treat with him or any of his family, and promising more favourable terms of peace to the French than they would have obtained under his sway, invited them to frame a new government and constitution. The senate, profiting by this permission, immediately assembled, and selected five members, of whom Talleyrand was the chief, for the executive administration. At the next meeting, it was voted, that the emperor Napoleon had forfeited all right to the throne, April 2. and that the French people and army were absolved from their oaths of allegiance to him. Alexander now admitted the senators to an audience; expressed his approbation of their patriotic conduct; declared himself the friend of France; and, as a proof of his desire of contracting a firm alliance with the nation, promised to restore, unconditionally, all the French prisoners who were in his dominions.

At this crisis, the friends of the Bourbon family were inspired with confident hopes of the elevation of Louis to the throne.



They no longer concealed their sentiments, and zealously impressed upon the minds of their countrymen the preferable nature of a government, founded upon law and justice, to the degrading tyranny of a base upstart. An address was signed by a great number of Parisians, recommending the royal exile to the patronage of the allied princes, and urging them to complete by his enthronement, the liberation of France. Talleyrand, who had long been disgusted with the government of Napoleon, and had particularly disapproved his treatment of the Spaniards, more perhaps for its impolicy than its iniquity, promoted the same object by all the weight of his authority; and this wish soon became general; but it did not obtain the full sanction of universality; for the army, and the unprincipled and demoralized part of the nation, desired the continuance of that government which the efforts of Europe had overthrown. A rage for military glory influenced the admirers of Bonaparte: his great public works, and his various institutions, were also alleged in his praise; and, on these grounds, they preferred the arbitrary sway of the most unfeeling of men to that of a moderate, respectable, patriotic, and virtuous prince.

Some days of suspense intervened; and, during that time, tranquility prevailed in Paris. A new constitution was then

announced by the senate. The first article recognized the French government as monarchical and hereditary; and the second declared, that the people freely called Louis Stanislaus Xavier to the throne. This code, in some important respects, resembled that of England. It invested the king, the senate, and the popular representatives, with the concurrent legislation. Schemes of laws, in general, might originate in either assembly: but points of finance and contribution could only be proposed in the chamber of deputies. The dignity of senator was to be hereditary, and dependent on the royal nomination, with a proviso that the number should not be augmented beyond 200. The deputies were to be chosen, immediately or without intervention, by the electoral bodies: they were to exercise their functions for five years; and they could only be tried for any offence by the senate. On a fixed day, in every year, they might meet by their own authority; and, after a dissolution, only three months were to elapse before the convocation of a new assembly. In case of a vacancy among the judges, the king might appoint a successor out of three candidates named by the respective tribunals. Religious freedom was guaranteed; and the general liberty of the press was allowed. In some particulars, the royal

prerogative was more restricted than it ought to have been among a volatile people, not sufficiently prudent, sedate, or well principled.

A regard for Napoleon, or a sense of honor which dictated a wish for the preservation of the life and liberty of a commander and a sovereign, prompted marshal Marmont, when he proposed the submission of his corps to the new government, to stipulate that no violence or injury should be offered to the person or freedom of Napoleon, if he should fall into the hands of the allies. Ney and Macdonald, still more zealous in his cause, ventured to demand a continuance of his dynasty; but, if they had coolly reflected on the subject, they would not have been so weak or so blind as to expect, that any of the princes, except the Austrian emperor, would listen to such a requisition; and even Francis was not disposed to outrage the feelings of Europe by supporting the pretensions of his reputed grandson to a throne which had been obtained by military intimidation, rather than by the uninfluenced voice of the people.

The humbled tyrant, aware of the necessity of yielding to the urgency of imperious circumstances, declared his readiness to sacrifice every personal advantage, not excepting even life, to the interest of France; and, as his continuance in his exalted station, was deemed the only obstacle to the re-establishment of the peace of Europe, he renounced, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy.

Some of his friends would have advised him, rather than submit to such degradation, to rush upon the enemy with all his remaining troops, and meet an honorable death in the field; but this was a desperate expedient, of which he had no idea. To an act of wilful suicide, which one of his Mamelouks recommended, he was still less inclined. Indeed, he was so fond of life, that he would have humbly thanked the most hated foe for suffering him to preserve it. It was fortunate for him that his conquerors retained those feelings of humanity which he had discarded, and were even disposed to lighten his fall by the grant of favours and indulgencies, to which he had no pretensions.

He was gratified with a treaty, of which the terms were far too honorable for one who had so shamefully abused his power. It was agreed, that he should not merely reside unmolested on the isle of Elba, but should exercise April 11. supreme sway over that territory; that he should retain the imperial title, and annually receive from France, for the support of his rank, two millions of francs, a moiety of which

should on his death be transferred to the empress Maria Louisa ; to whom, and to her issue, the duchy of Parma and its dependencies would be immediately assigned in full sovereignty ; that his mother, and his brothers and sisters, should be accommodated with a liberal allowance ; that his private property in France, should, to a certain extent, be reserved as a fund for the occasional gratification of such friends as he might recommend to the notice of the government ; and that he might take 400 men to Elba, and retain them as defenders of his person.

With these concessions he pretended to be satisfied. He was escorted through France by a detachment of the guard, and, having with difficulty escaped, in his progress, the violence of popular resentment, he reached St. Tropes, and embarked for Porto Ferrajo, where he had leisure to reflect on the extraordinary change of his fortune.

The war which his wanton ambition had excited, did not immediately cease on the reduction of Paris. The intelligence of that great event was not transmitted with the requisite celerity to the southern parts of the country ; and, even after it had been received, it was concealed (as there is reason to believe) by the cruel malignity of Soult, who wished for an opportunity of taking vengeance upon the English and their associates for daring to invade the territories of his imperial patron. Much blood was shed in a contest for the possession of Toulouse, which, however, the allies obtained. In a *sortie* from Bayonne, also, some loss was sustained : but these hostilities at length yielded to an armistice. In Italy, an expedition was undertaken by lord William Bentinck, who wished to annihilate the French influence over the Genoese. With the aid of commodore Rowley, he reduced their capital, and left it at the disposal of those powers which were proceeding to a general settlement of the affairs of Europe.

Louis XVIII., who had long lived in England in tranquil retirement, now roused himself from the indolence of a private life, and was ready to undertake the arduous task of royalty. At the request of the prince regent, he made his public entry into Westminster with the pompous parade of a sovereign ; and, having received, from all ranks of the community, the most pleasing marks of respect, he proceeded to Dover, where his embarkation was witnessed by his royal friend, and by a multitude of the rejoicing votaries of peace. At Calais, he was hailed with the loudest acclamations ; and, if the congrat-

ulations of the Parisians were less lively, the difference arose from their more corrupt and demoralized character. May 3.

The senate and the representative body had connected the acceptance of the new constitution with the inauguration of Louis, ordering that he should not be proclaimed king before he should have sworn to the observance of the code: but, though a mild and moderate prince, he was unwilling to be thus fettered; and trusting to his own judgment and to the good sense and patriotism of his friends, he declared that he would present to the people such a constitution as they would have no reason to disapprove.

Aware of the influence and power of the marshals, the king endeavoured to conciliate them by respectful attention, and by a general confirmation of their honors and emoluments; and, to extend his own interest among the troops, he gave to his brother, his two nephews, the Duke of Orleans, the prince of Conde and his son, the command of regiments, subjecting the former colonels to the authority of these princes, with the title of inspector-general. At the same time, he pleased both the army and the people by hastening the departure of the foreign troops, whose presence, notwithstanding their orderly and exemplary demeanor, necessarily excited displeasing sensations.

The negotiations between France and the combined powers were conducted without acrimony. Louis and Talleyrand were sensible of the necessity of abandoning Napoleon's conquests, and of restricting the kingdom to moderate limits, as peace could not otherwise be obtained from the four allied princes. It was stipulated with these potentates, that the general boundaries of France should be fixed at May 30. those points within which it was circumscribed at the beginning of the year 1792, but not without a particular allowance of additional districts in various parts of the frontier; that Great Britain should restore all the colonial establishments which the French at that time possessed, except Tobago, St. Lucia, the isle of France, and the Spanish part of St. Domingo; and that the kings of Sweden and Portugal should respectively surrender Guadaloupe and French Guiana. The French king promised to abolish the slave trade, as far as his subjects were concerned, within five years; and to the meditated continental arrangements, and the restoration of the independence of the German states, of Switzerland and other countries, he gave his preliminary assent. There was another important article in the treaty, ordaining a convocation at Vi-

enna of the plenipotentiaries of the contracting powers, for the adjustment of the balance of power and of a durable peace.

The loss of those extensive territories which had been annexed to the monarchy since the revolution, and the annihilation of the great influence arbitrarily obtained over less powerful nations, wounded the ambitious pride of the French, and excited strong disgust; but, if they had dispassionately reflected on the multiplied acts of violence and injustice of which their rulers had for a long course of years been guilty, they would have been disposed to acknowledge the lenity of their conquerors, who, instead of listening to the suggestions of animosity and vengeance, evinced only a reasonable desire of reducing their ferocious enemies within the limits of moderation and equity.

Before the allies reached Paris, the impracticability of preserving Spain had prompted Napoleon to release Ferdinand from captivity, and to conclude a treaty with that prince for his restoration to actual royalty. In announcing this convention to the regency, the king expressed his gratitude for the unalterable attachment of his countrymen to his interest, and for the persevering courage and energy of his British allies; at the same time acknowledging his obligations to the emperor of France, for the comforts which he had enjoyed during his exile, and the spontaneous offer of an advantageous and desirable pacification. The answer which he received was respectful and polite; but it was accompanied with a prior decree of the cortes, tending to the annulment of every convention which the king might be induced to sign while he remained in captivity. In reply to another communication, the regents, evading the desired ratification of the late treaty, informed his majesty, that an ambassador had been deputed in his name to assist at the proposed congress of the chief European powers, the result of which would in all probability be a general peace; and the council of state declared, that he ought not to be permitted to resume his authority, unless he would bind himself by oath to an observance of the constitution. The cortes confirmed this arrangement; adding, that no Spaniard who had obtained any employment, received any mark of honour, or enjoyed a pension, by the grant of Napoleon or of Joseph, or who had retired with the French troops, should be allowed to accompany the king on his return.

Trusting to his authority and influence, Ferdinand disregarded these attempts to control him, and resolved to pursue his own inclinations, or follow the advice of his favorites. He



quietly entered Spain by a different route from that which the regency had recommended, and proceeded to Valencia, where he indicated by two decrees, an intention of sacrificing the interests of the two parties which divided the nation, to the benefit of a third set of men, then beginning to take the form and consistence of a party. These advisers were the friends of the ancient system, the votaries of superstition and prejudice, who had temporized during the progress of the obtruded settlement of Bayonne, and opposed the constitution adjusted at Cadiz. Influenced by these unenlightened counsellors, the king stigmatized the existing cortes as illegally framed and composed; and, having condemned the new constitution, dissolved the assembly, with a promise of convoking a regular national council. By another decree, he restrained the liberty of the press, declaring that the censors should be such individuals as were not attached to the cortes, and had not been in the service of that prince whom the French had imposed upon the nation. Forgetting or neglecting that protest against despotism, which was included in the former of these decrees, he ordered the commandant of Madrid to apprehend two of the regents, several members of the cortes, and some authors of periodical publications, without stating their particular criminality or delinquency; and many other arbitrary arrests and imprisonments speedily followed. Intent on the re-establishment of monasteries, he ordained the restitution of the estates belonging to those foundations, without making compensation for the purchase or for the subsequent improvements of the property. He concurred with the late assembly in withholding the confiscated or sequestered lands and goods of supposed traitors, and thus enforced a decree which he ought rather to have annulled. He also prohibited the return of those fugitives who had served the usurper as ministers or counsellors, or had filled any considerable station, civil or military; and such as were permitted to reappear in Spain were declared to be ineligible to public employments, and debarred from residing within twenty leagues of the capital.<sup>1</sup>

The restoration of the pope's authority was almost as agreeable to Ferdinand as the permission of his own return to power. That favour was readily granted by the statesmen who governed France during the interregnum; and Pius, like an incorrigible bigot, exhibited the same superstitious zeal which mark-

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, par Nellierto, chap. 14, 15, 16.

ed the character of the Spanish monarch, instead of displaying a just regard for incorrupt religion and enlightened government.

In consequence of the humiliation of Napoleon, the northern parts of Italy were quietly seized by the Austrians, who restored the principality of Piedmont to the royal family of Sardinia, with a promise of additional dominions. Murat was suffered, for the present to retain the kingdom of Naples, and even to withhold some provinces from the pope : but it was not intended, by the arbiters of the continent, that this usurper should be a permanent sovereign.

Bernadotte, being less irregularly elevated to the prospect of a throne, was permitted to enjoy his dignity ; and that offer by which he had been allured into the confederacy, was faithfully completed. It was policy, not justice, that dictated the promise of procuring Norway for the Swedes : but, as the allied powers had deliberately involved themselves in the obligation of such a transfer, strict faith was suffered, in this instance, to triumph over natural equity and the legitimate rules of conduct. In ordinary leagues or associations connected with war, a neglect of justice is too frequent to excite surprise : but, in such a confederacy as that which armed the European princes against the tyrant of France, it could not reasonably be expected that any imitation of the conduct of a base violator of all laws would be sanctioned by the professed votaries of justice. Even the British cabinet, as much addicted as any government to the practice of self-praise, and accustomed to boast of its moderation and equity, sacrificed its ostensible maxims to political convenience, and obstinately urged the completion of the irregular and anomalous engagement, without regard to the wishes or the remonstrances of the defenceless people, who were to be transferred like cattle from one master to another. The cession, on the part of the king of Denmark, was extorted by imperious circumstances and by the exigency of the crisis : but, even if it had been altogether voluntary, it gave no right of seizure to another prince or nation. He might justly resign the authority which he had exercised over them ; and they ought to have been left at full liberty to choose a new government, uninfluenced by foreign dictation, unawed by a hostile confederacy.

The feelings of ancient animosity rendered the Norwegians particularly unwilling to submit to a nation which seemed to bear an hereditary hatred to the Danes and their fellow subjects ; and, in the hope of maintaining their independence, they treated with contempt the promises of the king of Sweden.

who held out the prospect of a free constitution, and of the most friendly and cordial protection. All subjection to a foreign power was disclaimed by their patriotic leaders: and Christian Frederic, hereditary prince of Denmark, was invited to govern their kingdom. He readily accepted the offer of political power; and, presenting himself at Christiana, began to provide for the defence of the country. In concert with some of the most intelligent natives, he prepared a constitution resembling that of England: but this compliment to Great Britain did not secure the friendship of our court, which, in answer to an application from the new government, sternly ordered a blockade of the Norwegian ports. An assembly of national representatives adopted the new constitution, and assigned to Christian the regal title. As this was deemed a declaration of war against the allies, the envoys of the four great powers repaired to Christiana, and, announcing themselves as heralds rather than mediators, peremptorily insisted upon the full submission of the Norwegians and their pretended king to the treaty which had been adjusted for their particular benefit and for general convenience. Being now convinced of the inutility of resistance, the Danish prince requested a forbearance of hostilities, that the proposals of the confederate powers might be submitted to the free discussion of the diet. But the terms of the armistice were disapproved, because the envoys demanded the admission of Swedish troops into the principal fortresses, and would only promise a partial suspension of the blockade. The prince of Sweden, having made preparations for subduing the proud spirit of the Norwegians, exercised his argumentative and persuasive powers in an address to the unyielding community; but his reasoning was not so forcible as the sword. He and the king entered the country with a numerous army; and, although the insulted people repelled the enemy in some actions, the invaders quickly accomplished their object. Christian submitted to their dictates, and advised the Norwegians to accept the offers of the Swedish court. A commotion arose in the capital; but it soon subsided; and the people acquiesced in the decision of the diet, which, in consideration of the acceptance of its constitution, with only such alterations as appeared to be necessary for the complete union of the two realms, acknowledged the sovereignty of the king of Sweden.

June 30.  
Nov. 4.

## LETTER XXIX.

*Sketch of the History of Great Britain, including the Progress and Termination of the American War; with a survey of the Affairs of France, to the Re-Appearence of Napoleon in that Country.*

A. D. 1814. AFTER the conclusion of peace with France, it was the wish of many of the subjects of Great Britain, that the opportunity of inflicting signal chastisement on the Americans might not be neglected; while the advocates of moderation hoped that an immediate termination of this branch of the war would ensue. The prince regent, at the prorogation of the parliament, seemed more inclined to gratify the zeal of the former, than to adopt the softened tone of the latter. He spoke with asperity of the unprovoked aggression of the republican government; and, while he professed a desire of the restoration of peace on conditions honorable to both nations, he was persuaded of the necessity of availing himself, in the intermediate period, of the "means now at his disposal to prosecute the war with increased vigor."

The animosity of the contending parties had been repeatedly and strikingly evinced. In the invasion of Upper Canada, a large village had been burned; and its inhabitants exposed to the risque of perishing by the severity of the season. After the capture of Fort Niagara, about 1400 men, savages included, proceeded to Black Rock, where 2000 warriors were strongly posted, and, having stormed the batteries, dispersed the enemy. That village, and also the town of Buffalo, were consigned to the flames. The officer who performed this service was major-general Riall, whose subsequent operations were less effective and fortunate. Brown, an American commander, entered the Canadian province near Fort Erie, and proceeded, after the reduction of that fort, toward the post of Chippawa. Riall, advancing to meet him, found him in an advantageous position near the Niagara river; and, not being discouraged by the great superiority of the hostile force, he

risqued an attack, which was so unsuccessful, that a retreat became necessary, when above 460 men had been killed or wounded. In the next conflict, his division being repelled, he fell into the hands of the enemy; but lieutenant-general Drummond, who commanded on this occasion, so far prevailed, as to put the assailants to flight. About 1600 July 25. men bravely contended for three hours against 5000; and though the former received succours during the action, the whole British force did not exceed the amount of 2800. Of these, 640 were killed or wounded; but the Americans suffered far more severely. Two attempts were made in the ensuing month for the recovery of Fort Erie; and both were not merely fruitless, but were attended with great loss.

For the termination of this war, discussions were now in progress at Ghent; where, without reference to the mediation of Russia, three British negotiators met five American citizens. The requisitions of the former for the exclusive military command of the lakes, and for a guaranty of the territories belonging to the savage tribes, were treated as imperious and unreasonable; and the republicans applied to their government for new instructions before any decisive adjustment could be adopted.

The distant conferences did not obstruct the prosecution of the war. An expedition was undertaken against the capital of the United States, when the enemy had not a sufficient force for its defence. When rear-admiral Cockburn had occasioned the destruction of a flotilla in the Patuxent, the troops commanded by major-general Ross advanced from that river to the Potowmac, and found 8000 Americans posted on elevated ground at Bladensburg. The first division attacked this position with such impetuosity, that it was quickly forced; and the city of Washington, deprived of due protection by the flight of the army, was exposed to the fury of the invaders. Some of the buildings were defended by armed parties; but all opposition was soon quelled; and the work of devastation commenced. The inhabitants set fire to the naval store-houses and to some vessels; but greater havoc was made by the captors, who, not content with the destruction of all the establishments which furnished the means of hostility, burned the structures appropriated to the habitation of the president and to the meeting of the congress, and exhibited other marks of illiberal animosity, yet did not molest the submissive citizens, or invade private property. Fort Washington, which protect-



ed the city of Alexandria on the Potowmac, was bombarded and reduced by a squadron under captain Gordon; and that town was deprived of its stores and vessels. Baltimore was also menaced with an attack. In advancing toward this city, when the foremost ranks were harrassed by a brisk firing from a wood, major-general Ross was mortally wounded. Still pressing forward the troops approached a position, which the enemy seemed determined to defend: but, after a short conflict, the post was abandoned, and a confused flight ensued. Yet this engagement in which the Americans suffered considerable loss, did not enable the invaders to accomplish their object; for, when it appeared that the harbor was so far secured by sunken vessels, as to preclude the effective aid of that squadron which had hitherto attended the movements of the army, a consideration of the strength of those works which surrounded the town produced a dereliction of the enterprise.

About the same time, the British arms were honored by one expedition and disgraced by another. Rear-admiral Griffith and lieutenant-general Sherbrooke sailed to the Penobscot, and, with small loss, subdued the extensive district between that river and the frontier of New Brunswick. Sir George Prevost, with above 16,000 men, marched into the territory of New York; and, while he meditated an attack upon Plattsburg, near Lake Champlain, trusted to the effective co-operation of a small squadron commanded by captain Downie: but this officer lost his life at the commencement of the action, and all the vessels were taken; and when the troops, after a fierce cannonade and bombardment, were advancing to an assault, they were recalled by the general, although the garrison scarcely exceeded the amount of 1500 men.

After some other enterprises of little moment, the war was closed by a treaty which was concluded at Ghent. Dec. 24. It was stipulated on this occasion that conquests should be mutually restored; that the disputes respecting boundaries should be referred to two persons, one of whom should be delegated by each state for that decision; that the savage tribes should be restored to the same state, in point of possession and privilege, in which they stood before the commencement of hostilities; and that both parties should use their earnest endeavours for the entire abolition of the slave trade. The treaty was left in an imperfect state, because no agreement could be adjusted by the plenipotentiaries on the subject of maritime search and neutral rights.

After the adjustment of this treaty, but before the intelligence of its conclusion could reach North America, an attempt was made for the reduction of New Orleans. In assaulting the lines formed for the defence of the town, major-general Pakenham lost his life; and the resistance was so serious and resolute, that, although colonel Thornton had forced a strong position on the opposite banks of the Mississippi, the enterprise was abandoned. Fort Mobile, however, was attacked in the sequel, and taken with small loss.

While this war was yet in its progress, the emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia visited Great Britain, to offer their personal thanks to the prince regent for his zeal in the cause of the continent and to congratulate him on the restoration of peace to Europe. They were accompanied by two sons and the brother of Frederic, by the veteran Blucher, the ministers Hardenberg and Humboldt, count Nesselrode, and other persons of distinction. Their reception in this country was highly grateful to their feelings. Public applause, and private respect, attended their appearance. They were splendidly entertained by the regent, by many of the nobility, the merchants and bankers, and the corporation of London. Alexander was more lively and social than his royal friend, whose aspect had an appearance of gravity bordering on melancholy, which is said to have more particularly adhered to his character since the death of his queen. After the departure of these princes a general thanksgiving was solemnised for the return of peace; and a national jubilee served to commemorate, not only that happy event, but also the completion of a century from the accession of the house of Brunswick to the throne. Aug. 1. Temporary structures, with emblematic and appropriate decorations, appeared in the royal parks near the metropolis: a *naumachia* in the Serpentine canal amused the idle throng: fire-works dazzled the eye; and multifarious diversions banished all thoughts but those which related to mirth and enjoyment. Many were so censorious as to view this scene with disgust, and to reprehend the wasteful extravagance with which it was accompanied; being of opinion that the pacification of Europe, and the exploits of our soldiers and seamen would be sufficiently remembered without this superfluity of exhibition: but they ought to have considered, that this jubilee was calculated to afford high gratification to a numerous portion of the community, and that the expenditure of mere thousands, even in times of calamitous impoverishment, would not be seriously felt amidst the waste of millions.

Although peace was thus restored, its usual advantages did not immediately appear. Commerce, if it did not suddenly fail, rapidly declined. Not merely the cessation of the demand for articles connected with war, but the wish of the impoverished nations of the continent to encourage every branch of manufacture among themselves, stopped the progress of those multiplied orders which had employed the industry of our countrymen. At the same time, the cultivators of the soil, being unable to procure, for the produce of their farms, that exorbitant price which they had long been accustomed to receive, were deprived of the means of paying their advanced rents and the heavy imposts to which they were subjected. Great distress consequently prevailed; and ruin was the fate of a considerable number of families. This unfortunate state of affairs seemed to obscure, for a time, even the glory of the war, and to check the effusions of that gratitude to which the defenders and liberators of Europe were justly entitled.

The restoration of peace was hailed with joy by the more respectable part of the French nation: yet it would have been still more agreeable if it had not been accompanied with circumstances obviously disgraceful. The manner in which it was imposed could not please a high-spirited nation: but prudence dictated and justified an acquiescence in its stipulations.

When the king had prepared the constitution which he had June 4. promised to his people, he presented it to the senate and the legislative body. The chief points in which it differed from the code proposed for his acceptance, were these. For an hereditary senate limited in number, he substituted a chamber of peers chosen for life, to be augmented at his discretion. All the deliberations of this assembly were to be secret. The deputies or popular representatives (262 in number,) were not to be chosen under forty years of age; and only such persons were eligible as paid 1000 francs in direct taxes. To the king alone belonged the right of proposing a law, or of suggesting hints for the emendation of laws; and the assemblies were merely allowed to request that he would submit a particular subject to their discussion. He was required to convoke them in every year, that the public might not long remain without the benefit of their deliberations. His ministers might be impeached by the chamber of deputies for treason or extortion, and tried by the peers. He had the liberty of naming all the judges; and, though the trial by jury was allowed to subsist, occasional changes might be made in the management of judicial affairs.

This constitutional charter was readily accepted, and generally applauded; and as the known character of Louis seemed to repress all fears of its violation, the people looked forward to a course of just and equitable government. The king of Spain professed an equal regard for the freedom and prosperity of his subjects; but he did not follow the example of the French monarch; and, while he promised to convoke the cortes, and to grant such a charter as might preclude the exercise of arbitrary power, he was not fully disposed to adhere to his declaration. He considered the friends of liberty as foes to royalty, and propagators of sedition.

In forming the assembly of peers, Louis added, to the old nobility, some of Napoleon's titled courtiers and marshals. Talleyrand, prince of Benevento, and Clarke, duke of Feltre, were among the favoured number; and the former acted as the chief minister for foreign affairs.

The first object of the court was to repair the evils which the war had occasioned. The conscription was discontinued: economy was substituted for wanton and wasteful expenditure: commerce again reared its head; and those branches of art which had been neglected during the war were prosecuted with zeal. Provision was made for the regular payment of the interest of the national debt; and credit, both public and private, gradually revived.

An interesting subject of legislative discussion was connected with the freedom of the press, which neither the king nor the two assemblies were inclined to allow, at a time when a strong and numerous faction, particularly the military class, cherished an attachment to the banished tyrant. The debates on this topic, which excited great attention, were terminated by an act, placing printers and booksellers under the *surveillance* of the chancellor, and subjecting all publications of twenty sheets, or a smaller number, to the inspection of censors. This statute exposed the new court to animadversion; but it did not produce so much acrimony of reflection, as arose from that religious spirit which prompted the king to order the theatres and shops to be shut on the Sabbath day.

It was natural to suppose that the emigrants would obtain some relief from the prevalence of their royal patron; but the difficulty of favouring them without giving offence or disgust to their numerous adversaries, obstructed their gratification. It was at length resolved, that such parts of their property as had not been sold should be restored; and the privileges which they had lost by their departure from their native coun-

try were re-established. These concessions were voted by a great majority of each assembly. Marshal Macdonald, who eloquently supported their interest on this occasion, proposed that those loyal citizens whose estates had been sold should receive an annuity, at the rate of two and a half per cent. upon the aggregate value; and the scheme was sanctioned by the legislature.

The grant of these favours to a party which could not be termed popular, did not allay the apprehensions which many had conceived of the revival of arbitrary power. It was well known that the king was disposed to concur with the friends of the constitution: but there was no danger of his yielding to the advice of his brother and other bigoted royalists. Those who expected the immediate return of prosperity, as if the severe wounds inflicted by a pernicious and execrable system could be healed without the least delay, were of opinion that the court had been negligent of its duty, and that the promises which the king's friends had lavished would not be realized. The disbanded soldiers, and those who yet remained in the ranks, eagerly promoted the rising discontent. Reverting to the former glory of the nation, they lamented the disgrace of being subjected to the sway of an unwarlike prince, whom foreign powers had compelled the nation to accept upon the most ignominious terms, and called for the restoration of a hero who would retrieve the honour of France.

The debates in the English parliament, at this period, were not particularly remarkable. Mr. Whitbread was, as usual, eager to inquire into every branch of public affairs; but his interrogatories were not always answered, and his animadversions and strictures were disregarded. The ill success of the American war, the expected dismemberment of Saxony, the transfer of Genoa, the erection of the Hanoverian electorate into a kingdom, the odious bigotry and abominable tyranny of the Spanish monarch, and many other topics, were brought forward by this indefatigable speaker, in a manner which amused and sometimes edified the house.

A. D. 1815. Ample supplies were voted by the liberality of the commons. The amount nearly reached ninety millions of pounds. In France, for the same year, the proposed expenditure did not amount to twenty-three millions sterling. But, when the French financiers adjusted their accounts, the prince of Elba had not emerged from his retreat; and, on the other hand, the English estimate was not fixed before there was a certainty of the renewal of hostilities.



No one who had an accurate knowledge of the character of Bonaparte, could expect that a zealous votary of ambition, precipitated from the height of imperial power, and banished from a populous and flourishing country, would be content with the sovereignty of a small and comparatively contemptible island. He seemed, indeed, to forget that he had ever governed France, or extended his commanding influence over Europe. He affected to be pleased with retirement; and, like a philosopher, he left the agitated political world to itself, while he superintended the improvement of his obscure mansion and capital, and endeavoured to render the produce and resources of Elba as beneficial to the islanders as their industry and his judgment would allow. But, amidst all his exertions, and all his affectation of content, he secretly repined at his loss of exalted dignity, and cherished hopes of a return of prosperity. With a well-poised mind, he might have enjoyed ease and comfort; but he considered his present lot as only another name for misfortune and adversity.

In the mean time, his partisans at Paris studiously intrigued for his restoration. They malignantly vilified the acts of the king, and took every opportunity of fanning the flame of discontent. Their base machinations, not being sufficiently checked by the court, were eagerly continued; and traitorous emissaries were easily found, who conveyed such intelligence to Elba as stimulated the hopes of Bonaparte. He no longer exhibited an air of resignation to his fate: he ceased to attend with apparent zeal to the government of the island, or to the various objects of internal policy: he avoided society, and brooded, with a gloomy aspect, over his secret thoughts. This change might have induced an acute observer to conclude, that the ambitious exile meditated a scheme of escape, and was constantly pondering on the means of its accomplishment.

The banishment of Bonaparte was a nugatory measure, on the part of the allied powers, if they did not provide for his strict custody: but they seem to have thought, that, when he was removed from France, he ceased to be formidable. They neglected all the hints and notices which were given of the existence of an extensive conspiracy in his favour, and quietly suffered him to make his treacherous arrangements. It was alleged, as an excuse, by a courtly senator, that the whole navy of Great Britain would not have sufficed for a strict blockade of Elba: yet a small squadron, which our ministers,

from a sense of delicacy, forbore to employ, might have prevented the evasion of a dangerous enemy.

It appears, that the members of the European congress began to suspect that an improper choice had been made of a place of detention for their artful adversary. His removal to a situation from which he would find an escape impracticable, was repeatedly proposed : but no determination ensued ; and the hints which he received of his danger accelerated his departure from the scene of supposed danger.

Not being destitute either of money or of credit, he procured arms and vessels, and made preparations for a bold enterprise. Taking advantage of the absence of sir Neil Campbell (the British supervisor, who had in vain imparted to the prince regent his suspicions of intrigue,) he assembled his guard and an additional troop of adventurers, and harranged them in support of those pretensions which he had been compelled by foreign arms to relinquish. He accused the allies of acting only from the most illiberal and selfish motives, and ridiculed the imbecility of the Bourbon family. He represented himself as the only leader qualified to retrieve the glory of France, and rescue the nation from a degrading yoke. His speech was received with the most animated shouts ; and the whole party, consisting of 1140 men, embarked at night in a brig and six transports. Some French cruisers were seen in the morning ; but they did not obstruct the course of the flotilla, which safely reached the Gallic coast. The fugitives landed near Frejus without opposition, their chief exclaiming, "Now the congress is effectually dissolved !" He soon met with a check ; for the governor of Antibes arrested a detachment which dared to invite him to an act of treason. He also found the mayor of Grasse faithful to the king ; while the inhabitants, less loyal, supplied the invaders with provisions. If the commandant of Marseilles had been well disposed, the adventurous party might have been crushed ; but he suffered the enemies of his sovereign to continue their march unmolested. In the neighbourhood of Digne, the peasants received with apparent joy the man whom they ought to have detested ; and, at Gap, he was encouraged to issue two proclamations, one addressed to the French army, the other to the people, boasting of his exploits and his services, and reproaching the Bourbon princes and the emigrants for their depreciation and neglect of that martial glory which was the admiration of the world. In advancing toward Grenoble, he met a battalion, which had been detached from

that city to oppose him. Having probably received notice, that the officers were inclined to espouse his cause, he coolly presented his bosom to the foremost rank, saying, "Any soldier who bears ill-will to his emperor, may freely kill me." The sense of loyalty was instantly overwhelmed by a profound respect for the *hero* who could act so *magnanimously*. Hundreds of voices exclaimed, *Vive l'Empereur!* and the whole body joined the exulting invader, who promised to rescue the nation from disgrace, from feudal tyranny and complicated grievances. Approaching the town, he was still farther gratified with the submission of lieutenant-colonel Labedoyere, who, although he had been favoured and promoted by Louis, joined the enemies of that prince with the greater part of a regiment of the line. The rest of the garrison, and the municipality followed the example of treason; and thus were sown the seeds of a new war.

As some official letters, stating the formation of a conspiracy for the restoration of Napoleon, had been negligently suffered to remain for many weeks unopened, the king and his ministers had no suspicion of its being so fully organized, when they received the alarming intelligence of the actual disembarkation of their formidable adversary. Some of the courtiers, ridiculed the enterprise as rash and hopeless; but Louis was aware of his danger, and sensible of the difficulty of crushing the revolt. By a proclamation, he denounced Bonaparte as a traitor, and commanded his magistrates and officers to apprehend him, that he might be punished by the summary process of martial law; and all his partisans and assistants were menaced with exemplary vengeance. He enrolled an army of volunteers at Paris, and commissioned his brother, and the duke of Angoulême, to preside over military operations in the southern parts of the kingdom. To the troops in general, he made an interesting appeal, urging them to defend their liberty, their property, and their families, against the atrocious tyranny with which they were threatened; to baffle the base attempts of a public enemy, who had wantonly sacrificed the population of the country at the shrine of ambition, and who, if fortune should favour him, would again purchase, by an ocean of blood, that dominion which the indignation of Europe would not suffer him to retain. But this address had little effect;—so strong was the impression which the martial talents and fame of Napoleon had made upon the infatuated minds of the soldiers.

Predicting, from the events which had occurred at Gréno-

ble, the most auspicious result of the invasion, Bonaparte slowly prosecuted his march, as celerity no longer seemed requisite for his success. The count d'Artois, assisted by marshal Macdonald and the duke of Orleans, reached Lyons before the enemy approached that city, and endeavoured to rouse the inhabitants to a vigorous resistance: but the majority of the number, grateful for the protection with which Napoleon had particularly favored their commerce, were more inclined to assist than to oppose him; and the troops testified so strong a predilection for him, that neither the menaces nor the persuasions of the friends of Louis could reanimate their expiring loyalty. Prudence now required the retreat of the count, who was deserted even by his own guard of honour. The revolt-ers of Grenoble soon after appeared, with the invading party; and their leader, declaring himself the lawful sovereign of France, kept his court for some days at Lyons, surrounded with military pomp. He annulled the king's acts, regulations, and appointments; dissolved the legislature; and ordered a new constitution to be framed by the electoral assemblies.

The court had been amused with the false reports of the success of the royalists in the south: but the real incidents were soon known; and the king was advised to seek safety in flight. He received strong protestations of regard from their most respectable part of the Parisian population; and even from the troops. The marshals professed the most loyal zeal; and Ney, in particular, requested that he might be employed against the traitorous *brigand* who had dared to lead his fellow ruffians from Elba, and whom he said he would bring to Paris dead or alive. He was therefore sent to Louis-le-Saulnier to take the command of a considerable army; but, finding that their officers were unwilling to resist Napoleon, and being exhorted in a letter from Bertrand, to co-operate with the friends of the emperor, whose cause had every appearance of success, he published a proclamation against the house of Bourbon; and, while he expressed a fervent zeal for liberty, he joined the unprincipled adventurer, whose determined aim was to enslave the nation.

While the people (some with anxiety, and others with indifference) waited the result of this momentous contest, which involved the dearest interests of society, the two chambers met, in compliance with that royal command which was adverse to the wishes of the constitutional courtiers, who apprehended that the zeal of the majority for the pretensions of high prerogative would injure the true interests of the restored



family. Louis addressed them in terms well suited to the occasion. He expressed his satisfaction in having reconciled his country to all foreign nations, of whose faithful observance and support of the late treaties no doubt could be reasonably entertained. He spoke modestly of his labors for the benefit of his people; and, as they had given him striking proofs of their regard and affection, he could not, he said, make a better return, than to risque his life in their defence. The daring enemy who had returned from exile, had not only brought civil war in his train, but would expose the country, by his perfidious intrusion, to the dangers of foreign hostility; and, if he should be successful in his unjustifiable enterprise, would annul the constitutional charter, and re-impose the iron yoke which had so long oppressed and disgraced the nation. "Let us rally (exclaimed the king) round the standard of the constitution. All good Frenchmen will follow our example; and the happy termination of a war, so truly national, will prove how much can be effected by loyal and patriotic exertions."

In the session which followed, some courtly errors were corrected, and some unconstitutional irregularities (for faults will occur in the best governments) were acknowledged with a view to emendation. But the deliberations of the two assemblies had not the desired effect; for, as the enemy advanced, the zeal of the royalists declined; and the king found that he could not depend on the service of the army. About 28,000 men were assembled near Melun; and, if these should join his adversaries, the royal cause seemed to be ruined. The troops were arranged in order of battle; and their courage was less disputable than their loyalty. When they expected the approach of the revolvers, they preserved an anxious silence. Surprised at the tardy movements of the enemy, they watched every appearance on the side of Fontainebleau. At length a small escort presented itself to view; and when the men who composed it moved forward, they offered to their embattled countrymen the fraternal embrace. A carriage was seen, in which was seated a warrior, whose features were immediately recollected. He addressed the soldiers in mild and friendly terms, and was saluted with the same joyous sounds and acclamations which he had been accustomed to receive in the meridian of his prosperity. No thoughts of resistance were now entertained; and, when the rest of the usurper's troops appeared, a complete reconciliation ensued, and general harmony prevailed.

The king was still inclined to remain in his capital; but, as



it was incapable of a long defence he was earnestly exhorted by the courtiers to retire from the danger which menaced him. Repeated persuasions induced him to comply; and, with the hope of a speedy return, he left Paris to his rival; March 20. having previously proclaimed a new session of the legislature, and declaring any assembly either of peers or deputies (except that which he should hold in the provisional seat of his government) usurpatory and illegal. The city, for some time after his departure remained quiet; but commotions and tumults at length arose, which the national guard with difficulty suppressed. After the successive arrival of military detachments, Napoleon gladdened his Parisian friends with his presence, and was hailed by the populace with loud acclamations. In approaching the palace from which he had driven the king, he was exposed, by the pressure of the throng, to the risque of suffocation, from which he was rescued by his officers. He found some of his former ministers ready to receive him; and he assured them of his intention of acting as a constitutional sovereign, and of securing peace and prosperity to France. Being convinced, however, of the expediency of being fully prepared for defence, he took an early opportunity of reviewing the troops, and harrangued them on the trite topic of national glory.

From a desire of gratifying the people, and more particularly the party that demanded a free constitution, Napoleon promulgated various decrees, which his friends loudly applauded, and which his enemies could not reasonably condemn. By one, he gave that freedom to the press, which, amidst the agitation of the popular mind, Louis had deemed it prudent to withhold. By another, he abolished that atrocious traffic in slaves, of which the king had consented to the continuance. By a third, if he did not suppress the obnoxious *droits reunis*, or consolidated duties, he alleviated their pressure upon the public. But these and other concessions appear to have been mere devices for the acquisition of popularity. He dreaded a renewal of hostilities from the allied potentates, and was therefore eager to strengthen his interest in France by all the arts of conciliation.

## LETTER XXX.

*A Narrative of the most Remarkable Incidents, both Political and Military, which followed the Return of Bonaparte from Exile.*

SO little attention had been paid to the restriction and confinement of Napoleon, that his escape might easily have been foreseen. The dreadful intelligence alarmed the assembled directors of the congress. They were conscious of their neglect of the means of vigilant precaution: yet they had no expectation of so mischievous a result. But, if they were for a time confounded at the event, they were not long undetermined how to act. They could not forget the great motives which had urged them to action; and, as the same impulse continued to operate, they were ready to draw, with all the warmth of indignation, the sword which had been so recently sheathed. A. D. 1815.

While they knew not the course which Bonaparte had pursued, they abstained from the public avowal of their sentiments: but when they had received information of his descent in France, they declared their intentions in a spirited manifesto. By violating the convention which had fixed him in the island of Elba, he had destroyed (they said) his only legal claim to indulgence or protection, or even to existence; and, by re-appearing in France with views of perfidious hostility, he had forfeited the benefit of the law, excluded himself from the pale of civil and social relations, and rendered himself a fit object of public vengeance.<sup>1</sup> They therefore announced without reserve, their determination of uniting their efforts to secure Europe against any attempt which might threaten to replunge it into revolutionary disorders and miseries.<sup>2</sup> Mar. 13.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Boyce says, that the terms of this manifesto "plainly contained a provocation to assassination, and disgracefully leagued the stiletto of the bandit with the unstained sword of the soldier." But this is an unjustifiable assertion; for the expressions which he condemns merely refer to the exercise of *public justice*, or the infliction of *national vengeance*.

<sup>2</sup> This declaration was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal.

This was not a *brutum fulmen*, or an idle menace. The chivalrous ardor of the Russian emperor prompted him to send immediate instructions to his capital, for the march of troops and for new enlistments. Francis and the Prussian monarch issued their peremptory commands for the same object ; and no one could doubt the corresponding zeal of Great Britain. The declaration was soon confirmed by a treaty, which bound each Mar. 25. of the four powers to bring 150,000 men into the field, and not desist from their exertions, until they should have rendered Napoleon wholly incapable of disturbing the tranquility of Europe. The British regent was allowed to substitute pecuniary payment for a part of the stipulated force ; and he also gratified the three other princes with a subsidy of five millions sterling, without which, they declared, they could not execute their engagements.<sup>3</sup> Louis was requested to accede to this alliance ; and it was understood to be the wish of all the contracting powers, that he should be restored to the throne ; but the prince regent declared in a separate article, that he did not consider himself as *bound* to re-instate that monarch, or “to prosecute the war with a view or imposing upon France any particular government.”

While the allied powers were preparing to crush the invader of France, the fugitive king, who was followed to the frontier by the household troops, safely arrived in the Netherlands, where he resolved to await the result of the new war. The duke of Bourbon had endeavoured to rouse the inhabitants of La Vendee to exertion : but, as his followers were unable to procure a sufficiency of arms, and had no military experience, he advised them to accept the offer of an amnesty, and embarked at Nantes for Great Britain. The duke and duchess of Angouleme had been actively employed in the south-western part of France, in maintaining the cause of their family ; but their exertions were far from being successful. The garrison of Bourdeaux favoured the cause of Napoleon ; and, when general Clausel appeared with a body of revolvers, the national guard and volunteers, after a show of hostility, yielded to the torrent. The duchess acted like a heroine on this occasion ; but concluding, on cool reflection, that resistance would be attended with an useless sacrifice of lives, she desired the guard not to persist in the defence of the city, and sought an asylum in England. Her husband, who had pro-

<sup>3</sup> This treaty was merely a renewal of a convention which had been signed in the preceding year at Chaumont, while the allies were treating with Napoleon.

ceeded into Languedoc, attacked the enemy with spirit; but he was obliged to yield to superiority of force; and, when he had obtained favorable terms for his troops, he was permitted to retire from France.

As the manifesto of the confederate princes seemed to require an answer, a declaration appeared in the name of Napoleon, accusing them of a violation of the treaty of Fontainebleau, not only as far as it concerned him and his family, but as it respected the rights and interests of the French. The emissaries of the court of Louis, he said, had sought an opportunity of murdering him: his pension had been withholden; the territories assigned to the empress had not been ceded; his faithful friends had been disappointed of the promised rewards: and it was the known intention of the congress to banish him to St. Lucia or St. Helena. These infractions of treaty, he presumed, justified his return; and, as the French had honoured him with the most favourable and friendly reception, and had gladly permitted him to reascend their throne, he could not conceive that any just grounds existed for the interference of foreign powers. The French wished for that independence which they had a right to expect: they wished for peace, and would faithfully observe the stipulations of the treaty of Paris; and, as no change, ominous to the repose of Europe, had occurred in their country, they demanded, from the allies, a respect for their rights and a forbearance of injury. No nation could be justified in compelling them to submit to an unpopular dynasty, or to the yoke of feudal and superstitious tyranny.

Not content with the dissemination of this manifesto, he addressed a letter to each of the allied potentates, deprecating a renewal of war. He affirmed, that his resumption of authority, and the retreat of the Bourbon family, were the results of an irresistible power, the effects of national unanimity, displayed in a just cause; and he expressed a strong desire of rendering it restoration, which was necessary for the happiness of the French, instrumental to the maintenance of the tranquility of Europe. That tranquility, he said, might be permanently secured, if other princes would follow his example, and, instead of rivalry in war, would contend for pre-eminence in the great duty of promoting public welfare and private felicity.

He had no reason to suppose that any of the potentates who had concurred in the indignant menace of bringing him to justice, as an enemy of mankind, would condescend to answer

this communication, or listen to his delusive overtures : yet he could not conceal his mortification when his letters had not produced a single reply. As he could not be unconscious of his own villany and the blackness of his heart, he must have secretly acknowledged to himself the superiority of the confederate princes in the moral attributes of man, and must have felt an internal conviction of the justifiable nature of the war which they meditated against him. He must have seen that they stood upon high ground, and that, whatever might be their occasional demerits, they had acquired the good opinion of the world for their late exertions against him. Their lofty demeanor keenly wounded his feelings, and humbled his pride. He became unusually reserved and thoughtful ; gloom sat upon his brow, and discontent rankled at his heart.

When the prince regent requested the support of the parliament for the renewal of hostilities, earl Grey, Mr. Whitbread, and several other senators, denied the necessity of interference, and neither admitted the policy nor the justice of the new war, as the ruler of France had regained his power with the consent of the nation, and had no aggressive intentions : but both houses voted for war, in the proportion of more than three to one. The supplies which would be granted by such a majority, at so critical a period, might be expected to be unusually great ; yet this new appeal to the loyalty and patience of an overburthened people, while it provoked incidental murmurs, met with general acquiescence.

Disappointed in the hope of deluding foreign princes into an opinion of his being influenced by sentiments of moderation, Napoleon made preparations for war, but not with his usual confidence and alacrity. With a view of conciliating the people, amidst the danger which hung over him, he relaxed the rigours of his former sway, held out the prospect of just and equitable government, and promised to improve the constitution of the empire by the most beneficial enactments.

The *additional act*, which emanated from his despotic policy, contained some judicious regulations. It instituted two assemblies, which, in imitation of the lords and commons of Great Britain, were to exercise the legislative power in concert with the sovereign. It gave to the emperor the right of nominating the members of the higher chamber, and rendered the dignity hereditary ; while the people were allowed to choose their representatives, to the number of 629, and to renew the election after an interval of five years. No members were to be prosecuted during a session for any crime or offence, unless



the chamber to which they belonged should countenance the accusation. The emperor alone was to submit the draught of a new law to the deliberation of the chambers: but they were not bound to agree to his propositions; and, if they wished for a particular law, they might request him to bring it forward:<sup>4</sup> yet it does not appear from the act, that he was obliged to introduce it. No taxes were to be raised, no loans contracted, and no military levies ordered, without the intervention of an express law; and all these points were to be decided only by the popular deputies. The ministers were declared to be responsible for particular acts of government, and for the execution of the laws; and, in cases of supposed delinquency, they might be impeached by the representatives, and tried by the peers. Judges were to be appointed by the emperor for life, not being removable except for flagrant misconduct; and the trials were to be publicly conducted. Courts martial might still take cognizance of military offences: but, if any other acts of delinquency should be committed by soldiers, they were amenable to the civil judicature. No citizens could be apprehended, prosecuted, or punished, without a strict adherence to the forms and requisites of law. Religion was to be unfettered, property inviolable, the press free, and the right of petitioning universal.<sup>5</sup>

This act was offered to the assent, rather than submitted to the deliberation, of the public. Bonaparte being June 1. seated upon a temporary throne in the Champ de-Mars, a deputation from the electoral colleges applauded the fruit of his political wisdom; and the confirmation of the act was announced by the arch-chancellor. He then stated, to the electors and the military and naval deputies, the necessity

4 This exclusive privilege was an imperfection in the act, as it narrowed the range of legislation. Every member ought, as in this country, to have had the right of introducing a bill. It may be said, that, even in the latter case, the emperor might have rejected the bill when it had been adopted by both chambers; but this event was far less probable, and such rejection would have been much more ungracious and impolitic, than the mere refusal of a request for the primary discussion of the subject.

5 The conclusion of the act was as inconsistent and absurd as it was malignant and vindictive. It tended to prohibit all proposals for the recall of Louis, or the elevation of any prince of his family to the throne, even if the succession in the imperial line should fail. It also exploded the revival of feudal customs and claims, and the re-establishment of any privileged or predominant religion. If Napoleon regarded himself as a legitimate sovereign, because the people (in his opinion) had freely elected him, he was bound to admit the exercise of the same right of choice, if any prince of the Bourbon dynasty should assert his pretensions; but he hated all the members of that family, and more particularly wished to proscribe them, in revenge for the disgraceful stigma with which their imperial and royal friends had lately branded him.

of opposing with vigor the confederacy of princes, and expressed his hopes of victory and triumph. When he had sworn that he would maintain the new code, the assembled people declared, in general terms, that they would obey the laws, and be faithful to the restored sovereign. Eagles were presented in form to the electoral presidents, to be conveyed to the troops of the different departments; and the soldiers swore that they would rally round the imperial standard, and, acting in defence of their country, would repel the enemy or die. Sports and diversions followed the ceremony; and fountains of wine gladdened the spectators.

That enthusiasm which Napoleon hoped to excite did not enliven this *spectacle*. The decline of his influence could not escape his observance: but he dissembled his chagrin, and seemed to be satisfied with faint appearances of regard and attachment. He soon after opened a session, and congratulated the legislature on the commencement of a constitutional monarchy; proposed that the laws should be simplified and methodised; coolly noticed the hostile and formidable coalition; and recommended the prompt application of a remedy to the internal divisions of the country. Many of the representatives were so unfriendly to his authority, that he was not very willing to leave them unchecked: but the advanced state of his military preparations called him into the field. On his arrival at Avesnes, he issued a proclamation, which disgraced him by its scurrility and falsehood, if any thing could disgrace a man of his stamp and character. It claims from an historian, no other notice than the transient remark, that the allies, who are stigmatized in this address as the enemies of justice and of the rights of all nations, had taken arms, on this memorable occasion, as the champions of justice and the defenders of the rights of all the European communities, except the French, who, by their unjustifiable encroachments and infamous outrages, and by their subserviency to the restless ambition of a Russian adventurer, had forfeited all claim to favour and indulgence, and deserved to be treated with that exemplary rigour which would deprive them of the power of aggression and the means of hostility. The soldiers answered the address of their leader by loud shouts; and by promises of vigorous exertion.

Unwilling to lose time when he found his troops ready for action, Napoleon advanced with a considerable body of infantry and the greater part of his cavalry, and attacked the Prussian posts at Thuin and Lobez, which he forced. He then

approached Charleroi, gained possession of the town, and drove general Ziethen toward Fleurus. Marshal Ney, having crossed the Sambre at Marchiennes, dislodged the Prussians from other stations, and harrassed a Belgian brigade, which, however, secured itself at a post called *les Quatre Bras*.

Such were the incidents of the first day of action. The succeeding conflicts were far more important and memorable. The duke of Wellington and many of his officers were at Brussels when the campaign was thus opened, partaking of amusement and festivity. The first intelligence which he received did not announce any serious attack; but the second courier brought an alarming account, which occasioned the immediate advance of all the British and subsidiary troops toward the Sambre.

Expecting a general attack, Blucher concentrated his force near Sombref, having St. Amand and Ligny in his front. He had 80,000 men at these stations; and they were fiercely attacked by 90,000, under Grouchy, Vandamme, and Girard, while 30,000 marched against the duke of Wellington. The assault upon St. Amand was, for some time, bravely repelled; but the enemy at length forced the post. June 16. A battallion, under the immediate conduct of the field-marshal, retook a part of the village, and regained an adjacent eminence. Sombref was long maintained by general Thielman, who did not retreat from it before the dawn of the following day: but the most sanguinary contest occurred at Ligny, where, for many hours, the opposite troops, respectively possessing one part of the village, could not by all their efforts dislodge each other. Occasionally the battle extended along the whole line, with great loss on both sides: but the exertions of the French seemed to prevail; and a division of their infantry, having made an unobserved circuit round Ligny in the night, while several regiments of cuirassiers had forced their way in another part, suddenly attacked the main body of the Prussians in the rear, and disordered their line, yet not so seriously as to prevent a deliberate retreat to the heights of Bussy, whence, with the harrassed cavalry, the battallions fell back upon Tilly. In one of the conflicts between the cavalry, Blucher being entangled under his dead horse, remained with an adjutant, neglected by his own soldiers, and unnoticed by the enemy, two of whose squadrons successively galloped near the prostrate hero. About 15,000 Prussians are supposed to have been killed or wounded in this engagement; while the French,

who only admit that 3000 suffered in their army, might increase the number with truth to 8000.<sup>6</sup>

The duke of Wellington would have afforded powerful aid to the field-marshal, if he had not been obliged to resist a fierce attack upon his own position. While the prince of Orange kept a considerable body of the enemy in check, one division of the British army, and the Brunswick troops, were exposed to the impetuosity of Ney, who could not, however, triumph over them. The battle soon became more general; and both parties contended, with equal courage, for fame and victory. The duke of Brunswick, inspired with hereditary valour, and eager to take vengeance for the death of his illustrious father, made repeated charges at the head of his cavalry, and received several wounds before a ball pierced his heart. The French were at length repelled by the advance of fresh troops, when, by their own acknowledgment, 4200 of their number (and probably a much greater proportion) had been killed or wounded. On the side of their opponents, above 2470 suffered, beside 250 German subsidiaries.

As Blucher had found it expedient to retreat, the duke of Wellington, to preserve an opportunity of being assisted by that commander, also fell back, and directed his course toward Waterloo. During the march, a considerable body of French cavalry so harrassed the rear of the retiring army, that the earl of Uxbridge undertook the task of repelling the assailants; and, when his regiment of hussars had suffered severely in two charges, the life guards, being better mounted and more heavily armed, put the enemy to flight.

The duke's new position extended from Merke Braine to Ter-la-Haye. He arranged his army, consisting of about 65,000 men, in six divisions; and, by the last or the left of these, he maintained a communication with Blucher, who was stationed near Wavre. The field-marshal, being requested to send two divisions, promised to support him with his whole

<sup>6</sup> French and Prussian accounts compared.

Ney, in a letter to Fouché, severely blames Napoleon for not having directed, on this day, the bulk of his force against the duke of Wellington, who, as he had not concentrated his army, would certainly have been defeated. He might then (says the marshal) have outflanked the right of the Prussians, and have crushed them in their turn. He committed another error, in the opinion of the same general, by recalling 25,000 men (who were to have formed a part of Ney's grand division,) so as to prevent him from obtaining the victory; and it is added, that he even suffered them to parade about without firing, instead of employing them at Ligny, when the Prussians were giving way. These errors, to all appearance, materially operated to the advantage of the allies; but it does not necessarily follow, that, if they had been avoided, the campaign would have terminated in favour of the French.

army, and proposed to act offensively, if the enemy should not be disposed to commence an attack. The French being fully determined upon an immediate collision, began to move in the forenoon from the heights near Planchenoit. Their number exceeded 85,000, exclusive of a corps which watched the motions of the Prussians. The count de Lobau commanded the right wing, d'Erlon conducted the central body, and Jerome Bonaparte the left. From an observatory in the rear, near the station of the imperial guard, Napoleon took a survey of the field: and he occasionally placed himself in the centre, with some select squadrons. The first attack was directed to the seizure of a post, which, if taken, would have given him the command of an eminence, whence he might have attacked the duke's right with peculiar advantage. It was therefore defended with the most determined perseverance. It consisted of a chateau, a garden, and a wood. A part of Jerome's division gained possession of the two last stations: a great number of men fell in the garden; and many of the wounded of both parties, being left in an out-house, perished in the flames which enveloped the chateau and its appendages: but the house, though reduced to a shell, was still retained by the remains of a brigade of guards.<sup>7</sup> June 18.

The conflict raged, at the same time, on the duke's left, which Napoleon wished to turn, so as to preclude the expected support from the Prussians. That division which sir Thomas Picton commanded, instead of waiting for an attack, which was threatened by a strong column, formed itself into a compact square, and so intimidated the French by its firmness of countenance, being ready to make the most forcible use of the bayonet, that they fled after firing a volley, which, while it did little execution upon the corps, killed its gallant leader. The enemy, returning to the charge, drove back the regiments of Highlanders; but these, being seasonably supported, re-advanced, and repelled their opponents. In this part of the field, the Scotch Greys not only slew or captured the greater part of a body of infantry, but with the aid of a corps of dragoons, routed a column of cavalry, at whose head were the cuirassiers. This was the most severe and murderous cavalry engagement that modern times have exhibited.<sup>8</sup>

Beside many desultory attacks upon various parts of the line, a third grand assault was ordered by Napoleon, who

<sup>7</sup> London Gazette Extraordinary of June 22.

<sup>8</sup> The Spanish general Alava, with the enthusiasm of a soldier, speaks of it as the most sanguinary that ever was witnessed.



hoped to force the duke's centre, by a powerful impression, before the Prussians could arrive. A numerous body advanced toward La Haye Sainte, a farm near the road from Charleroi to Brussels, and, after a fierce contest, seized that important post. Columns of horse and foot now penetrated to the centre; and, being well supported by incessant discharges of artillery, made great havock among the opposing ranks. Encouraged by this success, Bonaparte sent the bulk of his cavalry to complete that victory which he expected to obtain. They rushed upon the squares which the duke had judiciously formed, and into the midst of which, with the most undaunted courage he occasionally threw himself to animate his men. Few, if any, of the squares were forced;—with such firmness did the British troops and their brave associates sustain the dreadful shock.

During this murderous contest, general Bulow emerged from a wood with two brigades, and attacked Lobau's division in flank, thus occupying that mass of infantry, which, if it had been detached to the centre to aid the cavalry, might perhaps have given victory to the French. Blucher soon after advanced from Ohain, and made dispositions for joining in the conflict. These veteran commanders arrived at a critical time, when the French were on the point of prevailing. Napoleon, to prevent his troops in the centre from being discouraged, propagated a report of the arrival of Grouchy, who, he said had fallen upon the Prussian rear; and putting himself at the head of his guard, he advanced to another attack; but a corps of British guards repelled this assault; and the duke, being now confident of support, and animated with all the ardor of hope, resolved no longer to be employed merely in checking the advance of the enemy, but to assume an offensive attitude, and rush forward with all his remaining strength.<sup>9</sup>

The French, impetuous only in aggression, were confounded at the dreadful shock to which they were now exposed. They did not long resist this vigorous charge, but fled with precipitation. About the same time, their right wing began to give way; and the corps of general Ziethen, arriving at Smouhen, so effectively aided the efforts of Blucher and Bulow, that the line was broken in three places. The enemy retired to Planchenoit with some appearance of order; but, when that village had been stormed, the retreat became an absolute rout.

As the duke's troops were so fatigued with their long con-

tinued exertions, that they could not pursue with effect, Blucher, who met and embraced the British hero at the farm of *la-Belle Alliance*,<sup>10</sup> declared that he would superintend the completion of the victory. He gave directions for the most vigorous and unremitted pursuit; and the Brunswick cavalry, still breathing revenge for the lamented death of their sovereign, took the lead on this occasion. A multitude of the fugitives were massacred, particularly at the villages in which they made a show of resistance. Finding some pieces of artillery at Genappe, a body of the French halted, and formed a rampart with overturned carriages; but this fortification was quickly stormed by the Prussians, and the terrified defenders were deliberately put to death. The chase was continued to the Sambre: many, amidst the confusion, perished in the stream; and not more than 40,000 men, out of the whole army, could again be embodied.<sup>11</sup>

While the pursuers were thus gratifying both their policy and their revenge, the duke and his victorious soldiers, without taking that repose which their labours and fatigue required, attended to the relief of the wounded who thronged the field. The sight of the dead, whom the light of the moon enabled him to discern, drew a tribute of tears to the memory of so many intrepid and zealous defenders of their country and of Europe. He feelingly deplored the miseries of war, and lamented the dire necessity which had driven the allies into arms.

The consternation of the vanquished commander was extreme. All his ambitious views, all his prospects of continued power, seemed to vanish into air. Even his hopes of personal safety were nearly annihilated, as his life depended on the will of those princes who had marked him out for public vengeance. No other resource was left to him, in the language of some of the French prisoners, than to cut his own throat, and rescue himself from disgrace and misery. But it was not necessary that he should follow the example of Roman hardihood, or, as it may be called, of pagan weakness. It was more proper that he should fall a victim to violated justice, and outraged humanity.

After some hours of silent and melancholy flight, he reached

<sup>10</sup> Blucher proposed, that the battle should bear this denomination: the French borrow from Mont St. Jean, its distinctive appellation; but it is more generally named from Waterloo.

<sup>11</sup> Boyce's Second Usurpation of Bonaparte, vol. ii.

Charleroi, having with difficulty eluded, at Genappe, the eager grasp of his exasperated pursuers; and, on the second evening after the battle, he arrived at Paris in deep dejection. The inhabitants were then unacquainted with the particulars of the disastrous conflict. Some unfavourable reports had succeeded the intelligence of the victory at Ligny; but it was not generally believed that any great misfortune had occurred, until the emperor's return was known. It was immediately suspected that he had been completely vanquished; and the truth was disclosed in its full extent.

Four parties divided the legislature. If the emperor had triumphed over the allies, all would have acquiesced in his government: but as victory had ceased to attend his steps, schemes of dethronement were eagerly entertained by three of these political associations. One party wished for a republic; a second favoured the restoration of Louis; and the third aimed at the establishment of a limited anarchy, under the duke of Orleans; while the fourth adhered to Napoleon with zeal and fidelity, or if he could not preserve himself on the throne, wished for his son's succession, under the regency of Maria Louisa. His friends, aware of the intrigues of the malcontents, advised him to dissolve the two chambers, and, on pretence of public danger, to assume a dictatorial authority: but, as he apprehended that this early violation of his solemn promises of constitutional government might be injurious to his interest, he firmly resisted these solicitations. Fouché, who, foreseeing that fortune would not again smile upon his patron, had turned his eyes to the reviving lustre of the house of Bourbon, amused Bonaparte with assurances of the zeal of all parties for the support of his power, and protested against the adoption of that arbitrary advice which, he secretly thought, would baffle the views of the emperor's opponents. He renewed his objections at a meeting of the ministers; and Napoleon again disclaimed all intentions of deviating from the maxims of the constitution. When he received intelligence of the rising spirit and high tone of the popular deputies, he was inclined, in emotion of rage, to enforce the suggestions of his partisans; but he was soon humbled into forbearance.

Addressing the representatives at this crisis with a spirit suited to the occasion, La Fayette proposed, that all attempts to dissolve the assembly, should be considered as high treason. The motion was readily adopted by both chambers; and it was also voted that four of the ministers should be summoned to the hall to explain the emperor's views and intentions.

They denied that any orders, hostile to the continued freedom of deliberation, had been given, or that any arbitrary or improper schemes were in agitation. On the ensuing evening Napoleon held a council, to which (beside the ministers) some peers and popular deputies, and other persons of distinction, were invited. He acknowledged that a severe misfortune had befallen the nation, and confessed that he had committed various errors; but he hoped that the good sense of his auditors would rectify his judgment, and provide for the safety of France. Regnault St. Jean de Angely proposed, that the army should be copiously recruited, with a view of maintaining that dignified demeanor which alone could procure an honourable peace. La Fayette ridiculed the idea of negotiating, on the part of the emperor, when it was known that the enemy would not treat with him; and he plainly hinted at the necessity of abdication;—a suggestion which roused the anger of Maret, who attributed the increasing danger of the country to the traitorous intrigues of Napoleon's adversaries. After a warm debate, Carnot moved, at the desire of his indignant master, that the two chambers should be requested to treat with the confederate princes, and that money and troops should be raised without delay. To these propositions a seeming assent was given; but, when they were reported to the representatives, with a hint of the emperor's readiness to make any sacrifice which the people might require, if the offer of negotiation should not be accepted, the countenances of the majority exhibited strong marks of dissatisfaction, as it was concluded that he only wished to gain time for maturing his schemes of violence. Duchesne advised, that the assembly should desire him, for the safety of the state, to abdicate the sovereignty. Loud applause attended this patriotic suggestion: but it was thought more decorous to wait for a promised communication from the palace, than to adopt a proposal which bordered on compulsion. Even some of his ministers earnestly exhorted him to resign, with a good grace, that power which he could no longer exercise for the benefit of France. The glory of such a sacrifice, they said, would immortalize his name: but he smiled with disdain at the offensive remark; for he had no other ideas of glory than those which involved the splendour of sovereignty and the lustre of military fame. The expected promise, however, was extorted from him; and he anxiously awaited its effect. His brother Lucien endeavoured to rouse him to violence, by intimating that, if he did not exercise the prerogative of dissolution, the repre-

sentatives would proceed to extremities, and depose him by an explicit and peremptory vote.—“They dare not,” exclaimed the enraged emperor, who, before his anger cooled, asked Davoust what force he could employ against his political adversaries; but when that minister dissuaded him from all rash attempts, he secluded himself for an hour, and brooded over his declining fortune, without daring to have recourse to violence. Boulay and Regnault interrupting his privacy, answered his desire of advice by recommending abdication; and general Solignac, joining the party, extorted from him a promise of resigning, if his son should be immediately acknowledged as emperor. He signed a declaration to that effect, and gave it to the general, who carried it in triumph to the hall. The deputies, exulting in the advantage which they had gained, placed his person and interests under the safeguard of the national honor, and sent their president to thank the illustrious citizen for his devotion to the public welfare, and to applaud his extraordinary magnanimity.

When the two chambers accepted his resignation, the annexed condition was not strictly regarded. They appointed a council of state, composed of five members; namely, Fouché, Caulincourt, Carnot, Grenier, and Quinette; and these ministers issued a proclamation, recommending concord and union, and intimating that plenipotentiaries had been sent to negotiate a peace in the name of the nation. Lucien brought forward, in the assembly of peers, the question of his nephew's succession, and moved that they should acknowledge Napoleon II. as emperor of France; but the majority, content with a provisional government, evaded the proposition. Exasperated at this seeming breach of faith, Bonaparte threatened the peers with his vengeance; but both chambers pacified him by agreeing to the desired recognition.

The folly of Bonaparte, in having recourse to this idle subterfuge, was equal to his guilt and villany. He had no reason to suppose that the allies would suffer him to govern the state in the name of another prince, or even to exercise the smallest degree of power. They not only bore arms against him, but against his whole family and all his devoted partizans. He pleased himself, however, with the idea that his dynasty still subsisted, though the new emperor was absent from France, and even in a state of confinement. He declared that he would faithfully adhere to his abdication, and would act the part of a loyal and orderly citizen. But, as his presence in the centre of a large and licentious population encouraged disorder and



tumult (for the army and the rabble were still attached to him, and still wished him to reign,) the committee of government requested him to move to a considerable distance from the capital. However displeased he might be at this intimation, he consented to transfer his residence to Mal-maison; and he also, at the desire of the new rulers of the nation, stated to the soldiers, in a public address, the necessity of his removal from Paris; but he disgusted the governing party by omitting the mention of his retreat from power. His remains of ambition prompted him to solicit the dignity of military command; but the administrators were so far from being inclined to gratify him in that respect, that they urged him to expedite his escape from the danger with which he was menaced. He was advised to seek refuge in North America, or at least to remove to the coast; and, after complaining of the ingratitude of those who had servilely bowed before him in his prosperity, and who now wished to banish him like a convicted felon from the country which he had so long governed, he repaired to Rochefort with a party of friends and domestics. He continued above a week in that town, in a state of gloomy discontent, anxiously observing the course of events, and sometimes employing himself in preparations for departure.

He might easily have been seized by the active and vigilant emissaries of Fouché; but this minister did not wish that a person who had filled so high a station, and whom he had so long served, should be delivered up to public justice, to which he knew himself to be equally amenable. Having in vain endeavoured to escape by sea, the harrassed delinquent, after long and anxious deliberation, resolved to trust to the generosity of that government which had pursued him with the most determined hostility. In a letter which he addressed to the prince regent, he compared himself with Themistocles, who sought an asylum among the enemies of his country: but the illustrious Athenian was not like the Corsican, an enemy of the human race. Accompanied by Bertrand, Savary, and other friends, he surrendered him- July 15.  
self to Maitland, commander of the Bellerophon, who conducted the whole party to Torbay, but would not suffer any of the fugitives to go on shore for a moment.

Napoleon apparently expected, that he should be treated as an unfortunate prince, or permitted to live in Great Britain like a private gentleman: but in that respect, he was miserably disappointed. It was, indeed, a sufficient favor to spare his life, which, by the laws of God and man, he had forfeited.

While he remained in a state between hope and fear, a convention was signed at Paris, for the consignment of the custody of his person to the British government, and the nomination of Austrian, Russian, and French commissioners, who should reside at the place of his detention, to prevent his escape. When an order arrived from the prince regent for his deportation to St. Helena, an island in which he might be easily watched and safely guarded, he indignantly declared that he would resist the arbitrary mandate; but, reflecting that exile was less to be dreaded than that violence which his resolute opposition might provoke, he calmly acquiesced in the prescribed voyage.

His brother-in-law, styled the king of Naples, was less fortunate. When this usurper co-operated with the Austrians in Italy, he was solely influenced by motives of interest. He was a soldier of fortune, ready to espouse any cause which promised to be advantageous. Little praise, therefore, was due to him for supporting the common cause against the disturber of Europe; and there was little doubt of his reverting to his former connexions, if his patron should be enabled to resume his sway. Even the court which had formed an alliance with him did not seriously confide in his honor; and all his endeavours to procure from the British regent a treaty of friendship, or an acknowledgment of his title, were frustrated by the unfavourable opinion which had justly been conceived of him. He maintained a correspondence with the exile of Elba; and, as soon as he was informed of the arrival of the perfidious invader at Lyons, he renounced his confederacy with Austria, and resolved to promote with the whole force of his realm, the interest of the French emperor and his own aggrandizement. By commencing hostilities at Cesena, he exposed himself to the severe resentment of the allies, and hastened his ruin.

The Austrian emperor, having a great force in the north of Italy, would not tamely suffer such a pretender as Murat to domineer in that country. General Bianchi was therefore ordered to oppose him with vigor; but that commander, being unsuccessful in an engagement near Modena, retreated toward the Po. Count Nugent, who was at the head of another body of Austrians, left Florence to the enemy, and marched to Pistoria, sustaining repeated attacks from the Neapolitans, who could not, however, with all their efforts defeat him.

Murat had endeavoured, by an appeal to the natural desire of independence, to rouse the people of the northern and mid-

dle parts of Italy into a confederacy against the Austrians; but they easily discerned his interested views, and very few, except his own subjects, joined his standard. When he had reached the neighbourhood of Ferrara with his main body, he was attacked by field-marshal Mohr, and driven to the southward; and the other divisions of his force were also constrained to retreat. Sensible of his danger, and dreading an assault upon his capital from a British and Sicilian armament, he made frivolous excuses and absurd apologies for his military movements and operations, and requested a suspension of arms: but, as this was an indulgence which he had no right to expect, it was peremptorily refused. To secure a retreat, he attacked general Bianchi near Tolentino; and the conflict was prolonged to the close of the second day. His great superiority of number did not enable him to obtain the victory. His loss was severe; and daily desertions thinned his ranks. Yet he would not relinquish the important contest without a farther trial of strength. Having procured a reinforcement, he turned upon his pursuers near San-Germano, and assaulted all the out-posts of Nugent's division, even encompassing various bodies, which, however, cut their way through his ranks. He then, instead of attacking the principal position, resumed his retreat. At Mignano, he made a show of resistance, without preventing the capture of 1000 of his men. The union of four Austrian divisions completed his ruin. He fled to Capua with the wretched remains of his force, foreseeing and bitterly lamenting the loss of his power. The appearance of a small British squadron in the bay of Naples had already deprived him of all the naval force which he had upon that station, and had placed his capital at the disposal of the allies; and a convention was signed at Casa-Lanzi, for the May 20. surrender of all the fortified towns in the kingdom (except three which were then under blockade,) and of all the ports and arsenals. Murat had given a general authority for treating; but these terms were adjusted, without his consent, between the baron Carascosa and count Neiperg, the Austrian commander. He escaped in disguise, and embarked for France, while his wife was sent to Trieste. Prince Leopold, soon after, took possession of Naples in the name of the lawful king, and received strong testimonies of the returning loyalty of the inhabitants. The promise of an amnesty removed the apprehensions of those who had renounced their allegiance to Ferdinand; and, when this prince re-appeared in his metropolis, he was saluted with enthusiastic acclamations.

The fugitive adventurer might have found an asylum in the Austrian territories; but, by folly and rashness, he provoked his destruction. He retired from Toulon to Corsica, and put himself at the head of a party in a mountainous district, where the constituted authorities of the island were unable to enforce full submission. Still restless and discontented, he returned to the Calabrian coast, landed near Pizzo with about thirty adherents, and endeavoured to rouse the population against Ferdinand: but his appeal was derided; his escape was obstructed; his followers were slain or captured, and the infamous assassin of the Spaniards, being condemned by a court-martial, suffered death for invading a country in which he had long reigned. His government was, in some respects superior to that of his rival: yet his unjustifiable intrusion, and his want of honor and principle, prevented his acquisition of popularity.

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### LETTER XXXI.

*History of the Progress of the renewed War, to the Pacification of Paris; with a view of the chief Political Changes, ordained by the Congress of Vienna.*

THE glorious success of the British and Prussian armies decided the fate of Europe. It manifested the determination of the allies to execute their engagements with honor and fidelity, and to substitute vigor and efficiency for the empty menaces of former coalitions. It extinguished the enormities of French despotism, and gratified the suffering nations with a prospect of dignified independence.

While the battle of Waterloo was undecided, a sharp conflict occurred near Wavre between the generals Thielman and Grouchy. The former, by the particular direction of Blucher, who wished to conceal from the French commander his intention of joining the duke of Wellington, attacked the enemy with a spirit which seemed to command success: but he was

opposed with such vigor, that his post at Bielge was stormed ; and he was afterward dislodged from Wavre amidst the furious conflagration of the town, and even from the adjacent heights. Elate with this advantage, Grouchy was preparing to march to Brussels, when he was checked by the intelligence of the emperor's flight. He instantly commenced a retreat ; but he was not suffered to march unmolested. When he reached Namur he ordered Vandamme to defend that city. Being reinforced by several detachments from the Prussian main body, Thielman repeatedly assaulted Namur, and at length gained it by scalade. Great slaughter ensued in the streets, and also in a defile which led to Dinaut, before Vandamme could rejoin Grouchy, who at length added the remains of his force to the re-embodied fugitives of the grand army.

After a day's rest, the hero of Waterloo began his march toward Paris. Although the British court had apparently disclaimed the intention of imposing a particular king or government upon France, the duke may be supposed to have received private instructions, authorising him, in the event of a signal or complete victory, to act as the restorer of Louis : he would not otherwise have publicly asserted (as he did at Binche, on the second day after the battle,) that the respective sovereigns of the troops under his command were the allies of the king of France, which ought therefore to be treated as a friendly country. This declaration alarmed the adversaries of the Bourbon family, and occasioned severe strictures on that inconsistency which appeared to them a gross violation of faith. Regardless of the opinion of that part of the French population, the duke advanced with the dignified air of a victorious general, not with the stern features of a barbarian conqueror. No contributions were extorted, as he passed through the towns and villages, from the terrors of the inhabitants ; who, on the contrary, were gratified with full payment, or received regular notes for every thing which they furnished. Fair speeches and friendly promises were substituted for that harshness and arrogance with which the Prussians treated the French, who, in many instances, shut up and deserted their habitations, in the route by which Blücher proceeded. This commander rather encouraged than repressed the licentiousness of his soldiers ; for he could not remember without keen resentment the horrible outrages which the troops of Bonaparte had perpetrated in the dominions of his royal master ; and he wished to give the French a salutary lesson, by teaching them



that they were not to violate with impunity, all the laws of God and man. He denounced vengeance against all who still dared to support the interest of a perjured and sanguinary usurper, the scourge of society and the enemy of peace. Having taken Avesnes by scalade, he suffered his men to commit various excesses, and ordered that the soldiers who had defended that town should be sent to Cologne to repair the fortifications. He defeated the remains of the French army at Villars-Coteret, and captured 1000 men; and Bulow, soon after, gave them a considerable check: but they reached Paris before the Prussians could arrive in that city.

Being met by the deputies whom the provisional government had sent to propose peace, Blucher refused even to allow an armistice for an hour, declaring that he would not treat before he had entered the capital: but he granted passports for their advance to Haguonau, where, he said, they might be introduced to the confederate princes.

At the first conference, a demand was made by the British minister for the surrender of Napoleon into the power of the confederates, without any conditions relative to his treatment. This requisition excited remonstrances; and, therefore, it was not enforced. After two fruitless conferences, the envoys required a determinate answer; and, when this was postponed, because the British ambassador was not empowered to negotiate with the new government, the deputies returned to Paris, but not without an assurance, that the allied courts did not claim the right of dictating to the French on the subject of their peculiar government. Yet it is well known, that they intended, at the very time of this declaration, to promote the restoration of Louis.

Proceeding into the Cambresis, the British commander sent a detachment to attempt the reduction of Cambray. The city was assaulted in four points and taken; but the citadel was still defended, though not with the most determined spirit. It was the wish of the general, that this fortress should be surrendered to the personal requisition of the king, who, being invited by the duke to re-enter France, and urged by the princes of his family to hasten his return, neglected the more judicious advice of his most considerate and respectable ministers, and advanced to Cambray. Prudence, and a due regard to the opinion of the people, required that he should keep himself in reserve, and not join the allies in hostilities against his former subjects, but leave the contest to their decision. When the garrison had capitulated, he entered the town in

triumphal procession, amidst the loud acclamations of those citizens who would have hailed with an equal appearance of zeal the return of Napoleon. In a proclamation, he referred to the difficulties which had surrounded and perplexed him in the preceding year, and apologized for the errors into which, with the best intentions, he had fallen. He June 28. disclaimed the imputed intention of re-establishing tithes and feudal privileges: declared that the apprehensions of the purchasers of national property were ill-founded; and promised to pardon all who had opposed him, except the authors of that nefarious conspiracy which had occasioned the march of foreign armies into France.

However depressed and humbled were the French by the progress of the allies, there still remained among them that spirit which would not tamely surrender their metropolis. The fortifications were repaired and extended: the army assumed a menacing attitude: the national guard seemed ready for defence: and a multitude of volunteers took arms. The rulers of the state stimulated the courage of the people, without neglecting the great object of an honorable accommodation. They wished, before Louis should be reinstated, to bind him to the observance of a constitutional charter; but the foreign friends of that prince were either so unfriendly to the liberty of France, or had so good an opinion of his moderation, that they were not inclined to see him fettered and restricted.

When the invaders were approaching Paris, the two chambers made a dignified appeal to the nation. The war, they said, ought to be terminated, if the promises of sovereigns were supposed to be obligatory: but the troops of the coalition were almost at their gates, without stating for what object they continued the war. A resolute defence was therefore necessary, unless the people were so debased as to have no wish or regard for freedom and independence. Peace was a desirable object: but it ought not to be purchased by disgraceful submission: and it was the duty of both assemblies to declare, that they never would acknowledge, as their legitimate ruler, any claimant who should refuse to recognize the rights of the nation, and to enter into a solemn compact with his people. If an overwhelming force should impose such a master upon them, they would protest, in the face of the world, against so flagrant an instance of tyranny, and would take the first opportunity of reasserting their rights.

This proclamation was disregarded by the king and his allies. The Prussian general attacked Aubervilliers, and gained

possession of the post after a fierce contest: he lost it, and re-took it; but, instead of proceeding to the north of Paris, he directed his course to the south, where it was much less capable of defence. At Versailles he maintained a long and severe contest; and, having dislodged the enemy, he stationed his reserve at that town, his right wing on the heights of Meudon, and his left at St. Cloud. Alarmed at this approach, the national guard joined the regular troops and the volunteers in harassing his soldiers by every mode of hostility; and all parties seemed to unite for the defence of the capital and the country. They dreaded a general assault, when the duke of Wellington had crossed the Seine; but the two commanders were content with investment and vigilant observation, hoping to enforce a submission without proceeding to extremities. The duke even suffered a large supply of provisions to be conveyed into the city, for the benefit of the inhabitants, as if it had been a time of peace.

Being attacked at Versailles, the Prussians retreated for a time, but soon re-established their superiority; and their success induced the ruling party at Paris to call a council of war. When some of the speakers had recommended submission, others advised a spirited defence; and it was determined that a battle should be risked at Issy, before a surrender should be offered. The conflict proved unfortunate to the French, who were so discouraged as to abandon all thoughts of ulterior resistance; and the danger of an attack from both armies, intimidated the Parisians into a desire of capitulation.

The demand of a truce was no longer opposed by the allies, as they expected a speedy surrender. The baron Bignon, the counts Guilleminot and de Bondy, appeared at St. Cloud on the part of the French army: major-general Muffling acted as the Prussian commissioner; and colonel Hervey was deputed by the duke of Wellington. After a short negotiation, an July 3. agreement was adjusted, consisting of eighteen articles; providing for the retreat of the army and the security of Paris. It was stipulated, that the different posts and barriers should be given up by the third day; that the troops of the line should retire beyond the Loire within eight days; that the national guard, and the municipal *gens-d'armes*, should perform their usual duty in the city; and that the constituted authorities should not be molested by the foreign troops. The twelfth article was differently understood by the royalists and the friends of Napoleon. It imported, that the inhabitants, and (*in general*) all persons who were in the capi-

tal should be considered as not amenable to any tribunal, nor liable to any charge, either with respect to any employments or functions in which they were concerned, or for their conduct and political opinions. When questioned on the subject, the duke declared, that the convention "related exclusively to the military occupation of Paris;" and that the disputed article, which some construed into a preclusion of all inquiry into political delinquency on the part of the French government, was only intended to prevent any measure of severity, under the military authority of those who concluded the agreement, toward any persons in Paris, on account of their political conduct or sentiments. But it was argued, on the contrary, that, as the invading generals had no right, by the law of nations, to take cognizance of those political opinions of the French, which had reference only to their own sovereign or government, the article related to that power alone which had a right to punish; and, therefore, that every offence of that denomination was completely pardoned. Upon an accurate view of the stipulation, however, without advertg either to military cognizance or to civil inquisition, the phrase *in general*, though awkwardly and inconsistently introduced,<sup>1</sup> evidently appears to have been intended to qualify the universality of the concomitant term, by allowing such exceptions as might seem advisable.

This convention gave great joy to the citizens, whom it rescued from the extremity of danger: but it filled the licentious army with indignation. It was stigmatized as a disgraceful and ignominious compact, which no true patriot would observe. Some parties of the soldiery were inflamed to temporary madness at this second surrender of their renowned city, and rushed with desperate fury on the outposts of the invaders: but these ebullitions of rage gradually subsided; and the exertions of the national guard eminently contributed to the restoration of tranquility.

The new constitution continued to occupy the attention of the national representatives, without reference to that prince who, without being recalled; considered himself as restored to his throne. In a declaration which they issued, they renewed their demand of assent, from the future monarch, to those stipulations which were calculated to fix the liberties of the nation upon a firm basis; affirming, that no government which

<sup>1</sup> It is absurd to say *all in general*; for *omne majus includit minus*; all are more than *the generality*, the latter being only the greater part: but correctness of language is not expected from military men. In this case, the utmost precision was requisite, to prevent misconception and misrepresentation.

should refuse its sanction to such articles as were approved by the people, would have a permanent existence, or would effectually secure the welfare and tranquility of France. If the choice of a sovereign had been left to the free will of the nation, it is probable that the duke of Orleans, the most popular prince of the Bourbon family, and the most willing to grant freedom to France, would have been elected to the sovereignty; but the allies regarded Louis as king *de jure*, and had extorted from him a secret promise for the payment of large sums of money, and the temporary maintenance of foreign troops within his dominions. This recognition of his claim was announced, by the ministers and generals of the confederate powers, in a conference with Fouché; and it was alleged, that the French ought to be pleased at his restoration, as he was inclined to promote their happiness, and as their acceptance of him would preclude those territorial cessions which, on their submission to any other prince, would be peremptorily demanded. Fouché and his four associates now resigned their authority; and, when the peers were informed of this change in the government, they discontinued their deliberations: but the representatives of the people were less submissive; for they declared, that nothing but the power of the bayonet should prevent them from doing their duty. The national guard, however, having received orders from the king, obstructed all access to the hall; and the deputies indignantly retired.

When the king re-appeared on his way to Paris, the road from St. Denis was so thronged, that it was extremely difficult to pass. The approach of the most beloved and esteemed of monarchs could not have excited a greater appearance of loyal enthusiasm, than did the return of a prince whom, not long before, the majority of the Parisians and of the nation seemed to mark out as an object of aversion. The city was splendidly illuminated in the evening; and exterior joy and harmony prevailed.

In the selection of ministers, Louis was advised, not by the princes of his family, but by the duke of Wellington, to admit Fouché into the cabinet. He declared Talleyrand president of the council, and also re-appointed him secretary of state for the foreign department. His ministers for war and finance were, respectively, the marshal St. Cyr and the baron Louis; while the duke de Richelieu, whom the king particularly esteemed, was superintendant of the household.

The return of the royal family to the capital did not imme-



diately put an end to the war. So great was the obstinacy of the military class, that some garrisons were much more intent upon resistance than ready to yield, notwithstanding the general submission of the people. But the arrival of the Austrian and Russian armies hastened the complete conquest of the country. Davoust, and the troops beyond the Loire, consented to a transfer of their allegiance from the emperor to the king, without presuming to exact any conditions from his fears or his policy. The citadel of Lisle was surrendered; Suchet ceased to defend Lyons; and the operation of a British squadron in the Garonne concurred with the exertions of the royalists to subdue the obstinacy of Clausel, who had dared to retain Bourdeaux in the name of Napoleon.

While occasional hostilities marked the remaining agitation of the times, a sanguinary *re-action* occurred in the neighbourhood of Nismes. A body of royalist volunteers, being joined by the populace of that city, disarmed the guard, forced the barracks, and in concert with a multitude of peasants, harassed the friends of Bonaparte. During six weeks, many outrages and murders were committed by the rage of party and the fury of revenge. Factionous journalists attributed these commotions to the intolerance of the court, as those who suffered were chiefly protestants; but the king, though attached to the catholic religion, never was inclined by disposition or bigotry, to act as a persecutor.

The disbandment or reduction of the army, and the punishment of the most notorious delinquents, occupied the anxious attention of the cabinet. After frequent deliberations, it was resolved that a general dismissal should take place, and that a legion should be raised in every department, but should not be so completely new as to exclude those disbanded soldiers who might be thought worthy of admission. In this arrangement a greater force was proposed for the establishment than the country seemed in time of peace to require; for the calculation of the infantry exceeded 145,000 men.

Of the most criminal accomplices of Bonaparte, nineteen were marked out by the king for trial. Among these were Labedoyere and Ney, who were condemned as traitors, and shot. M. de Lavalette, who had strenuously promoted the second usurpation, was also convicted, and would have shared the same fate, if he had not escaped from prison in the dress of his wife; who, for this insult to the government, was for some time detained in confinement, but was not punished in any other mode for the warmth of her conjugal affection. Carnot,

Soult, Vandamme, and thirty-five other delinquents, were merely ordered to await the decision of the two chambers, whether they should be banished, or tried by the ordinary tribunals. Soult had been favoured with the confidence of Louis, and appointed minister of war : but he treacherously promoted the restoration of Napoleon. The persons named in the second list were merely stigmatized, being permitted to enjoy their lives and preserve their wealth, although many of the number deserved exemplary punishment.

The great difficulty of settling the affairs of France retarded the conclusion of treaties between that kingdom and the allied powers. Dismemberment and partition appeared to be so violent and unjust, that even the keen resentment of the princes would not suffer them to entertain such ideas : but they resolved to inflict both punishment and disgrace upon a nation which had so tamely submitted to the renewed intrusion of a brutal warrior, who was the enemy of all other princes and states. It was determined by the congress at Vienna, that the French should resign a part of that frontier which had been allowed to them by the treaty of the preceding year ; that they should pay a large sum toward the indemnification of the allies, and give up, for a certain term, the possession of many important fortresses. If the princes had not conceived a high opinion of the “enlightened principles, magnanimous sentiments, and personal virtues” of the restored king, they would have imposed much more rigorous terms upon a conquered people than those which were contained in the new treaty.

Amidst the moderation which guided the former arrangements, the numerous and admirable works of art, by which the Louvre was adorned, were suffered to remain : but the same delicacy and forbearance, on the part of the conquerors, did not direct the new regulations. Marshal Blucher took the lead in enforcing the demand of restitution. He required a speedy surrender of the spoils of Berlin, Potsdam, and Cologne ; and his menaces had the desired effect. Canova, the celebrated sculptor, claimed in the name of the pope, a similar restitution : but the weakness of his master was derided by Talleyrand and Fouché ; and so imbecile a power would not have regained a single picture, statue, or manuscript, if the duke of Wellington had not lent the high authority of his name and the effective aid of his soldiers, for the removal of the purloined property. In defiance of the clamors and menaces of the Parisians, the process of recovery stripped the Louvre of the fruits of unhallowed rapine ; and Germany, the Netherlands, and

Italy, were gladdened with the re-appearance of the valued testimonies of human talent. Of 1500 pictures, not more than 274 were left to the French. Those matchless specimens of sculptural skill, the Venus, the Apollo, and the Laocoon, were carried off in triumph; and the horses taken from the Venetian church of St. Mark, which were equally admired by the *noblesse* and the *canaille*, were removed from Napoleon's car of victory, amidst irrepressible bursts of resentment and indignation.

The treaties were at length completed, and announced to the anxious nation. Beside new restrictions of boundary, it was stipulated that Conde, Valenciennes, and six-  
Nov. 20.  
teen other frontier posts, should be occupied for five years by the troops of the allies, amounting to 150,000 men; and that 700 millions of francs should be paid by the French government, in addition to the supplies necessary for the support of those troops. It was also agreed, that the four chief powers, in concert with Louis, should effectually provide for the perpetual exclusion of Bonaparte and his family from the supreme power in France, and for the repression of those revolutionary principles which had supported the late criminal usurpation; that, if the allied force in that country should be attacked or menaced, a greater number of troops than the contingent specified in the treaty of Chaumont should be speedily furnished; and that, in the event of increasing danger, the whole force of each state should be employed for the restoration of tranquility.

Unquestionably, the terms imposed upon the French were harsh and severe; but they were such as the crisis demanded and the provocation justified. It was proper that they should be treated as offenders and criminals, not as an honorable belligerent nation. That arrogant and turbulent spirit which had convulsed Europe required powerful restraint and bitter humiliation.

The acts of the congress for the settlement of Europe, bore an arbitrary aspect; but, after so many years of disorder, it is not surprising that the political physicians should prescribe violent remedies. They followed the dictates of expediency, and enforced the laws of general policy. When the Danes expressed their disapprobation of that vote in which they were concerned, the reply accused them of having favoured the common enemy, and stated the utility of strengthening Sweden: the king of Saxony was reminded of a similar attachment, and was desired to acknowledge the propriety of

indemnifying the king of Prussia; and the Genoese were assured of a due regard to their prosperity, on the part of their new sovereign.

With a view of establishing a strong barrier against France on the side of the Netherlands, the congress ordained, that the seventeen provinces, which had formerly been subject to the sway of the house of Burgundy, should be united in favour of the prince of Orange, to whom the royal dignity was allowed.<sup>2</sup> The people of Belgium were not altogether pleased at this transfer; because they apprehended that the king would be partial to the Dutch; and the bigotry of the clergy indisposed them to the government of a protestant prince. But they found submission so far expedient, that their discontent did not rise to the height of sedition. The chief fortresses of the country had been occupied by British and German troops before the return of Bonaparte from Elba; and the new monarch had announced the favourable decision of the united powers. While the preparations and movements of the French rendered the acquisition doubtful, the annexion was not completed; but, after the battle of Waterloo, the king declared his determination of incorporating the Belgian provinces with Holland. The constitution which had been recently adjusted for the benefit of the Dutch, uniting a representative government with the exercise of royalty, securing the rights of property, allowing a freedom of opinion both religious and political, establishing the independence of judges, and fixing taxation on an equitable basis, received such alterations as adapted it to the extended limits of the kingdom. Some of the prelates voted an address, remonstrating against the grant of equal favour and protection to all religions,—a concession which, they said, was repugnant to the canonical laws, and menaced the catholic church with serious danger. This attack upon the system of toleration had no other effect than to procure a promise of referring to a catholic committee of the council of state, every proposition connected with the Romish faith and worship.

Not content with the recovery of the provinces which the French had seized, the king of Prussia viewed the Saxon realm with a greedy eye. He probably would not have de-

<sup>2</sup> To this prince the British court restored the conquered portion of the island of Java, St. Eustatius, Curacao, and the colony of Surinam, but retained Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, beside the Cape of Good Hope, and the coast of Ceylon. The interior parts of the last named island were added by conquest, in March 1815, to the maritime possessions, in consequence of those outrages and that iniquitous misgovernment which had entailed upon the king of Kandi the resentment of Great Britain and the indignation of his people.

clined an acceptance of all the territories of the aged prince, if the other powers had tempted his avidity with the offer. They allowed him an ample portion, without consigning the king and his family to total ruin. He received the Saxon duchy; both divisions of Lusatia, the landgraviate of Thuringia, and the county of Henneberg. To the inhabitants of these territories and of his recovered provinces in Poland, as well as to his other subjects, he promised a constitution founded on popular representation.

For the more effectual maintenance of peace and security in Germany, an act of confederation was framed by the congress. The sovereign princes and free cities were authorised, by this ordinance, to send plenipotentiaries to Franckfort, to form a diet in which a delegate of the house of Austria was to preside. A freedom of foreign alliance was granted to every member of the union, with a proviso that no treaty, repugnant to the general safety, or to that of any particular branch of the confederacy, should at any time be concluded. All were bound to repel hostilities, even if only one should be attacked; and the whole body guaranteed the possessions of each prince and community. In no case was war allowed to disunite the members of the league; for all disputes were to be accommodated by the decision of the diet. A representative body was to be established in every state; and arrangements, promotive of civil liberty were promised to the people.

The kings of Denmark and of the Netherlands were included in this grand association, the former for Holstein, and the latter for Luxemburg. Pomerania and Rugen had been subjected to the Danish sovereignty, in return for the seizure of Norway: but both the province and the island were ceded to the king of Prussia, in exchange for the duchy of Lauenburg, which he had procured from his Hanoverian ally.

In the adjustment of the French boundaries, the Swiss were gratified with an accession of territory; and Huningen, which was a thorn in the side of Basle, was dismantled. A new federal compact was concluded; which, among other expedient alterations, granted an equality of rights to every component part of the union, and consequently annulled the authority claimed by some of the cantons over their dependencies.

The greater part of Poland, including the dukedom of Warsaw; was assigned to Alexander, who declared himself king of that country, and gratified the people with some political advantages which were not enjoyed within the former limits of the Russian empire. Cracow was dignified with the



privilege of independence, in compliment to its ancient rank and importance.

Having thus extended his sway to the Vistula, the northern emperor resigned all claim to the Ionian islands; and it was agreed that they should form a "single, free, and independent state," under the exclusive protection of Great Britain: but this independence was rather nominal than real, as the inhabitants were required to regulate their internal organization with the approbation of the protecting power, whose garrisons were to occupy the fortresses.

In the settlement of the affairs of Italy, two republics, which had formerly flourished, were subverted. As the king of Sardinia had suffered severely from the hostile rapacity of the French, his continental territories were restored, with the addition of the Genoese state, which formed a very convenient appendage to his monarchy: and the Austrian potentate, who appears to have dictated this part of the arrangement, was no more willing to re-establish Venice, as a separate state, than Genoa. As he had relinquished his pretensions to the Netherlands, he thought himself justified in adding the Venetian dominions to the Milanese and Tuscan dependencies of his empire.

Among these important discussions, the propriety of an universal abolition of the slave trade, was strongly urged by lord Castlereagh and Talleyrand; and a declaration was signed by the ministers of the five great powers, importing that the public voice in all civilized countries, demanded the speedy suppression of so iniquitous a traffic; that their respective sovereigns were animated with a sincere and zealous desire of putting an end to a scourge which had "so long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity;" and that it was the duty of every prince and state, to order the cessation of a practice, which no established precedents and no length of duration could justify. Notwithstanding this strong appeal to the feelings and moral sense of mankind, the Spaniards and Portuguese obstinately continued the traffic, and gave the security of their respective flags to mercantile adventurers of other nations.

When the political deliberations of Vienna had been brought to a close, a remarkable treaty was concluded in the apparent spirit of religious zeal. The two emperors and the king of Prussia entered into a league for the defence of christianity, and the maintenance of those true principles upon which the wisdom of God, in his revelations to mankind, had founded

the peace and prosperity of nations. As it was hinted that their armies were to act in support of these principles, it may be conjectured that they had in their view a crusade against the Turks, the only infidel nation in Europe. However that may be, a treaty of this kind was wholly unnecessary, as all the princes and states of Christendom are accustomed, in their public documents, to profess a high regard for religion.

While the different treaties<sup>3</sup> were producing their intended effects, the French legislature endeavoured, by a general amnesty, to quiet the alarms of the disaffected, and extinguish the remains of agitation and disorder. The *project* offered by the king received some alterations in its progress, particularly with reference to those regicides who, in return for that clemency which had spared their lives, had not only promoted the second usurpation of Bonaparte, but had consented to accept offices from him. The continued guilt of these incorrigible offenders roused the resentment of the rigid royalists, whose zeal, however, did not impel them to a recommendation of sanguinary extremities. It was ordained that they should quit France within one month, and never return to it; and that they should be deprived of titles and pensions, and of all property which had been gratuitously transferred to them. The late ordinance was declared to be in full force against the criminals of that class to which Ney belonged; those of the second arrangement were now banished from the kingdom; and the chief instigators of the revolt, and most active accomplices in the usurpation, were also excluded from the amnesty.

In reflecting, my dear son, on the memorable occurrences of that eventful period of which I have delineated the leading features, you may be induced to observe, that the disorders and outrages of the French revolution, after multiplied contests for the preponderance of party, produced their natural result, in leading to the erection of military despotism. Such was the bitter fruit of that rash zeal which prompted a misguided nation to subvert the throne, and to exchange a comparatively mild government for the rigors of upstart tyranny. The long duration of sway, which gratified the bold adventurer who was thus exalted, will not perhaps excite your sur-

<sup>3</sup> It appears that, during the deliberations of the congress, a jealousy of the increasing power and pretensions of Russia led to the adjustment of a treaty, which was not, like the rest, publicly acknowledged. It provided for a defence of the contracting parties (Great Britain, France, and Austria) against eventual danger from the altered inclinations of a present friend. It is to be hoped that no contingency will call for the enforcement of such a treaty. May it ever remain a *dead letter*.

prise, when you consider, that a disciplined force, formed amidst revolutionary hostilities, attached to an enterprising leader, and divested of all moral feeling, may habitually intimidate and over-awe a great population, which, if roused to unity, might crush the tyrant and his *satellites* in a paroxysm of resentment; nor will your astonishment be particularly great, when you trace the effect of the power, thus acquired, in the subjugation of foreign states, which, being governed by deeply rooted prejudices, and habituated to formal tactics, did not retain the spirit and energy requisite for an effectual defence against the artful manœuvres and vigorous attacks of the new school of policy and war. But, fortunately for the peace and honor of society, when the evils of encroachment and the enormities of outrage had proceeded to an alarming excess, the general zeal of resistance was at length awakened, and threatened to overwhelm the arrogant propagator of servitude and misery, who had long defied and insulted the whole civilized world. Providence favoured the just and meritorious enterprise, and confounded the towering schemes of inordinate and criminal ambition.

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